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RICHARD BARWELL AND HIS SON
BY JOSHUA REYNOLDS

(From the engraving by R. B. Parks).

"Mr. Barwell of Stansted Park."

WHEN Richard Barwell resigned the office of Member of the Supreme Council at Fort William in Bengal on March 3, 1780, and sailed for England on board the *Swallow* packet, he brought away with him, according to common report (says William Hickey) a fortune of upwards of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. After the manner of his fellow-Nabobs, he bethought himself, on arrival in his native land, of an estate in the country. Hickey was then in London. In the second volume of his Memoirs he tells us (p. 182) that "in January 1779 a very numerous assembly met at the theatre [in Lyon's Range], at which a petition to Parliament was unanimously voted, praying a repeal of the Act under which the [Supreme] Court was constituted and that British subjects might in India be allowed a trial by jury." Hickey was deputed to present the petition: and so it came about that in January 1781 he met Barwell at the opera, and was invited to go down with a party to Stansted Park, which he had just purchased, and to advise regarding the alterations which he intended to make.

Stansted Park, which is now the seat of the Earl of Bessborough, is situated above seven miles to the north west of the Cathedral City of Chichester. Sussex was not such a favourite country with the returned Anglo-Indian as Barkshire, which was known as "the English Hindoostan." But William Frankland, the son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in 1725, had been settled at Muntham, in the parish of Washington, five miles to the north-west of Worthing, since 1765 and lived on until 1805, occupying himself with mechanical experiments: he had been Member of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper at the time of the siege and capture of Calcutta in 1756 and, after taking refuge before the surrender on a ship of which he was the part owner, had received £11,367 on the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daula. Charles Goring, who was Chief of the Committee of Revenue in 1776, was at Rowdell, in the same parish of Washington and died in 1821 at the age of 78: he is buried in the Churchyard and a Latin epitaph proclaims that he returned uncorrupted from the East (*ab oriente redux in corruptus*). A third was Ewan Law, of Horsted Place, near Little Horsted, which he bought from Richard Chase, Mayor of Madras in 1800, and patron of the Daniells: he was the uncle of the Earl of Ellenborough, the Governor-General, and was Chief of Patna in 1781 when Mrs. Hastings was left there, while her husband went up the river on his famous expedition to Benares. Lastly, there was Sir Elijah Impey at Newick which in our own days was the country home of Sir William Johnson Hicks (Viscount Brentford).

Interesting information regarding "Notable Owners of Stansted Park" was given by Admiral Chambers, C.B. in two articles which were published

as an advocate of the Supreme Court on October 26, 1835, and (according to Alexander's *East India Magazine*) acted as second to Frederick Osborne, another barrister, who was editor of the *Calcutta Courier*, in a duel with Joachim Hayward Stocqueler of the *Englishman*, that most pugnacious of journalists : and Lieut. Henry Montagu Barwell (1811-1837) of the 59th Bengal Infantry, who was born at Chittagong and died at Shahjahanpur. There are representatives of the family in the present generation. The Indian Army List for October 1914 contains the name of Major E. E. Barwell, of the 57th Wilde's Rifles, "primus in Europa" of the Indian regiments which took part in the Great War : and Mr. N. F. Barwell M.C. is one of the leading advocates of the Calcutta High Court.

THE PORTRAIT.

The portrait of Richard Barwell and his son, which we reproduce from the engraving by R. B. Parkes, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the year after Barwell's return to Europe. Writing on January 17, 1781 to his nephew William Johnson, who had gone out to Calcutta in 1774 "under the immediate protection of Sir Robert Chambers" and who received in due course the appointment of Company's attorney, Sir Joshua mentions that he is "now drawing a whole length of Mr. Barwell and his son for Mr. Hastings : when the picture goes to India, I shall write at the same time in your favours". The picture was not, however, shipped to India : according to one of Barwell's grandsons, it was sent to Hastings at Daylesford "as an offering from my grandfather to his old chief, in remembrance of the many battles they had fought and won together in the Council Chamber at Calcutta" (*Times*, January 18, 1928). It appears to have reverted to the Barwell family after the death of Hastings in 1818, for in 1865, the year in which Parkes published his engraving, it belonged to Miss Matilda Barwell, who lived in Montpelier-crescent Brighton and died there at an advanced age in 1874. She left the picture to Sir Nugent Edward, who disposed of it privately. Lord Curzon saw it in 1905, and again in 1924, in the gallery of M. Sedelmayer, the Paris art-dealer, who was asking £8000 for it. In 1928 it was taken to New York for sale, and that is the last news of it.

The "inset" portrait is said to have been painted by Sir Joshua from a miniature of Hastings then in the possession of Barwell, which had been painted by Imhoff on board the *Duke of Grafton* Indiaman, which took Hastings and the Imhoffs out to Madras in 1769. The features are certainly those of a young man : but they bear little resemblance to those of Hastings; whose portrait by Reynolds was painted in 1768 and is well known from the engraving by Thomas Watson which was published in 1777.

Sir Joshua painted a replica of his portrait of Barwell, but without the "inset". This also was last heard of in New York. The son must be Richard junior who was born in 1777 and died in 1800 but he is rather full-grown for a child of four.

EVAN COTTON.

Diary of Samuel Hickson
1777—1785.

We have received from Mr. J. G. Brooker of Calcutta the following very interesting diary of the campaigns against Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan which we publish as received with Mr. Brooker's note.

(*The original spelling in the "Diary" has been retained.*)

DIARY OF SAMUEL HICKSON.

Samuel Hickson was born at Market Street near Dunstable on Aug. 28, 1755 and at an early age became responsible for carrying on his late Father's business of wool combing and worsted making. The business declined and he had to mortgage his property and eventually, partly on account of his business difficulties and partly thro' a love affair, he decided to run away. It was nearly 2 years before his first letter arrived home from India telling them where he had gone. He wrote the following narrative while in India. On his return he started business as a linen draper and straw bonnet manufacturer and did very well. He died in 1814.

The original manuscript of his Indian Diary and a number of his letters are in possession of the Hickson family still.

A copy of these was made in 1820 by W. E. Hickson Esq. proprietor and Editor for 11 years of the *Westminster Review*, and is now in the possession of Professor Hickson F.R.S. of Cambridge by whose kind permission I am enabled to offer the following to *Bengal: Past and Present.*

J. G. B.

Without giving any person the least intimation of my design, and to prevent their having any idea that I had before resolved on it ; I took no clothes but what was on me, and only 4 shillings & sixpence in money, & on Jany. 5th 1778, about dusk in the evening, I bade adieu to the place of my nativity ; from which I had never been absent a week in my life ; fully resolved to exclude myself entirely from the knowledge of any person who had known me in my former circumstances ; tho' undetermined as to what course I should take. In a dark uncomfortable night, & with an uneasy mind, I walked till about midnight I found myself in London. As the people were in bed, I knew not what to do with myself the remainder of the night. I asked a watchman if he knew any house where the people were up ; he answered in the negative, but told me I might sit on the Watch box till 3 o'clock, when people would rise. I did so though almost frozen with cold. The next day I wandered through the streets without knowg. where or to what purpose. I passd another night in suspense, and the greatest uneasiness of mind. The

succeeding day, fortune cast me in the way of one of the decoyers, for the Indian Company's service.

Tho' I was not so credulous as to give any attention to the stories with which they amuse many young persons, yet I considered that this would effectually seclude me, from the knowledge of all my former acquaintance, and as there was an absolute necessity for my taking some step, for an immediate subsistence, I went with him to Mr. Hart, & engaged myself in my present situation. The next day I went on board a Gravesend Boat, with about 30 miserable half naked wretches, to be put on board the Southampton Indiaman, Capt. Lennox, then lying at Gravesend. As there was no wind, we could not reach the Ship that tide. Whilst we were waiting for the return of the tide, the waterman observing I made a more decent appearance than my associates, entered into a conversation with me in the Course of which, he said he wished I had been going on board the Shrewsbury, as he was acquainted with Capt. Coggan, and would have recommended me to his notice, which might have occasioned me better usage during the voyage, which those who are acquainted with the treatment recruits meet with known to be generally very indifferent. About midnight we went on board the Southampton. I was suffering severely with hunger and cold. I had never suffered any hardship of body till then. It was very dark, and I was entirely unacquainted with the structure of the ship. We were without any bedding: I had been without sleep a long time, and now had no place to rest myself. I thought this but a bad specimen of what I had to meet with ; but had prepared my mind to buffet adversity and bore it as patiently as I could. The next day, the Waterman, (Simon Eynes, Horsely Down) came to my surprise, with an order to remove me to the Shrewsbury, which this benevolent stranger, had applied to Mr. Thos. Coggan at the India House for, and obtained. Up on his recommendation, I was exempted from all duty in the ship, but assisting the Captns Steward, & ordered to eat with his servants.

When we sailed from Portsmouth in company with the Southampton and the Nassau, the Captn ordered me to attend some gentlemen who were going passengers to Bengal, in the great cabin which was to be my employment during the voyage. By sobriety and attention I had the happiness to give them satisfaction. The beginning of Feb. we fell down the river and sailed round to Portsmouth. The 8th of March we sailed thro' the Needle in Company with the Southampton, & Nassau, as we passed by Plimouth Sound the Queen joined us, we parted Company with them all after we had been at Sea about a Fortnight, in a Gale of Wind in which the Southampton lost her main Top Mast. After we sailed from Portsmouth, we had a prosperous voyage till we approached the Line, which, after being becalmed some time, we crossed, and got into the South East Trade Wind, which continuing very near the East drove us so far to the westward that we made the coast of Brasil. We beat on and off some days, unable to clear a cape of land which stretched out a considerable way into the ocean.

One morning (having stood out to sea in the night) we discovered two large sails to Leeward of us.

They came up and spoke with us ; they came out of the harbour of Pernambuco the preceeding day.

The Commodore came on board us ; gave us an account of the coast, currents etc and advised the Captn if we were in need of any provisions, water etc. to put into Pernambuco ; which he described as a very plentiful place. The Captain followed his advice ; and next day, we came to an anchor in the most beautiful situation that even struck my eyes. It was the first of May. Not a cloud obscured the azure canopy of the heavens, the cliffs shone of a bright gold colour and reflected the rays of the sun with a beauty not to be described. Add to this the beauty of the town itself, the capital of a province of the same name situate at the bottom of a fine bay. The houses appeared remarkably white, and several lofty spires raised their heads to a great height. The town of Olinda appeared fuller view, on the top of a hill about 5 miles off, to the Northward of Pernambuco.

The ground for some distance from the shore appeared equally beautiful ; where we could see, Woods etc. and corn-fields interspersed with fine Meadows in which were cattle grazing and numerous herds ; whilst oranges, Plantains, Cocoanuts, Limes and all the beauties of the vegetable creation loaded the trees in amazing quantity. At some distance from the shore, the country gradually ascended covered with thick woods, till it terminated the sight in the highest mountains I ever beheld. We staid here a week, during which time we were treated with the greatest hospitality by the Portoguese, and plentifully furnishd with all manner of provisions etc. etc.

Some time before our arrival here, some discontented persons, of the Ship's crew, had raised a mutiny ; and even carried it so far as to concert measures to seize the Ship ; which being timely discovered, three of the principal of them were put in Irons, in order to be tried on our arrival at Madrass. But on the 8th of May, being the day we sailed from Pernambuco, the Captn gave them their Choice, either to go to Madrass and be tried, or go on shore there ; they chose to be set on shore.

He then offered any of the crew who were discontented leave to go with them, up on which three more chose to go. He gave them the Jolly boat, and four dollars each man, with a day's provision ; and they signed a paper, in which they declared, that it was by their own desire that they went on Shore, and that they had no demands on the Captn or owners of the Ship.

We were about 5 or 6 leagues from the town when they left the ship ; and the wind and current were in their favour. I make no doubt but they reached the Shore long before night. Nothing material respecting our voyage happened till our arrival at Johanna. But during that time a circumstance happened that placed me in a more conspicuous view, in the eyes of the gentlemen on board than before. To maintain the order of time I shall here relate it. One night going into the great cabin, while the gentlemen were in bed, Mr. White one of the passengers for Bengal directed his discourse to me and amongst other particulars asked me what could induce me to enter as a Soldier, says he "tis strange 'tis passing strange".

I replied "tis pitiful 'tis wondrous pitiful". He seemed surprised at my replying so readily, and repeated the question I replied "but that I am forbid to tell the secrets of my prison house, I could a tale unfold".

"Very poetical indeed" I am said he. I desire you to bring me some stanza in the morning, for I admire poetry. "Upon what subject Sir" said I. Chose your own subject, or write on sleep if you will said he. "Very well Sir, I'll bring you a Pendaric Ode to sleep." "Oh O, a Pendaric ode, well don't forget" said he. I went out of the cabin and thought no more of it. The freedom which these gentlemen used me with authorized my freedom of reply, they always spoke very familiarly to me. However, the next day Mr. White desired the Ode I promised him. I begg'd his excuse for my freedom, and assured him that I was far from being capable of anything of the kind.

He said he would admit no excuse, for as I had mentioned it myself I should attempt something let it be ever so indifferent. He repeated his request almost every time he saw me, for almost a fortnight ; always jocularly calling me the Goddess of Pindaric. Tho' I had recd no education yet the natural turn of my inclination always led me to delight in those parts of literature which were within my reach. I had particularly delighted in history, geography ; and the first principles of Mathematical knowledge, of which I had without any instruction, except from books acquired sufficient knowledge in the element of Geometry, Trigonometry, etc. to be able to do every thing required in the measuring of timber, artificer's work, the surveying of land etc. and tho' Poetry had been no part of my study, yet having read a good deal, I thought I was at least capable of performing as well as he could expect from a person in my station, whom he looked on as entirely illiterate. Therefore after many repeated requests from Mr. White, I one day began the following trifle which I completed, transcribed, and presented to him before night, so that it however puerile was not the work of much time.

(Here follows the poem which is omitted).

I heard no mention of it for two or three days after I had presented it. At length Mr. Baugh (one of the Bengal passengers) came to me and told me that Mr. Coles had read and was greatly pleased with it, but that he thought it impossible it should be the work of a person who had no education, therefore, had forbore to read it publickly, as it would do me more injury than credit if it were found that I had attempted to impose some other person's production on them as my own which he suspected. However to prove the truth he had sent me one of the volumes of Rosseau's Eloisa, with order to versify one of the letters descriptive of the vintage in France.

This I attempted, but as I have since lost all my papers ; I am unable to write it from memory as I have done the preceeding. On the receipt of it Mr. Coles sent me the following letter.

(letter omitted. It expresses appreciation of the writer's powers as a poet and offers to recommend him to influential friends in India.)

Such a mark of approbation and condescention from a person in an elevated sphere in life surprised me as it was accompanied with assurances

that if I wanted necessaries of any kind during the voyage to inform his servant and I should be instantly supplied.

June the 13th we imajined the long wished for Island of Johanna appeared in sight ; we bore directly for it ; it however proved to be Mohilla. A spot resembling Saddle Island deceived our navigators we wasted almost round it before they were certain of their mistake ; we then discovered the real Island of Johanna. It blew a strong breeze and very favourable for us. We were close abreast of Saddle Island about 4 O'clock in the afternoon and trusting too much to the boldness of the shore ; we struck fast on the rocks between Saddle Island and Johanna. We immediately put our sails aback, as we were close hauled on the wind ; and as she continued up right and made no water, we were under no immediate apprehension of danger, imagining that if the tide were rising she would soon float again. But unhappily the tide was at the highest and when it sunk the Ship continued sinking with it abaft, still sticking fast in her foreparts. In the night the beams in the forehold broke, she leaked at a great pace and we were apprehensive of her going to pieces. The Ladies and Gentlemen passengers quitted her in great haste and confusion, and went on shore in the boat. With continual pumping we could but just keep the water from gaining on us.

However when the tide rose she righted again.

We had thrown our quarter deck Guns overboard in the night : and now we carried anchors out astern, and exerted every effort to get her off, but in vain ; the tide fell and she stuck fast. The rocks rear'd their heads above the surface of the water, and the Johannese even came off from the shore with cocoanuts on their heads. Every one dispaired of her getting off ; and we were unloading her with all expedition, when the next tide lifted her off, and we came safely to an anchor, opposite the watering place, when the Nassau joined us again having parted with the Southampton off the cape of Good Hope. Most of the English Ships that touch here give some Powder and Ball and some old Musquets ; with these (after the season for the English Ships touching there is over) they make war on the neighbouring Islands of Mohilla, Commora and Mayotta : from thence they bring off cattle etc. to supply our Ships another season. The assistance they receive from us in supplying them with Edge tools, Iron work etc. enables them to build large boats which they call men of war, and by means of which they reign Lords over the three neighbouring Islands and sometimes make trading voyages to coast africa. The inhabitants saw us strike and an express was immediately sent to acquaint his Johannish Majesty of our situation, who was graciously pleased to cause a proclamation to be issued from the tower of the Mosque (i.e. Church.) the natives being Mahometans to command all his Men of War etc. to go off to the assistance of his brother Georgie's Ship in distress, and to denounce instant death as the punishment to any of his subjects who should be detected in purloining any thing ; this had such an effect that tho' we were unloading the Ship and sending the goods on shore in the night which were landed at different parts of the beach and entirely exposed, and the natives are as notorious thieves as ever existed, yet we missed not the

least article. Whilst the Ship was on the rock, we asked some of the Natives what must become of us if she went to pieces ; they replied Johanna man, English man, all one Brother, Come Ship break you stay here, by and by another ship come you go to Madrass. Having stuck fast about 24 hours we stai'd till the 26th June to take in water and provisions and examine the condition of the Ship, which received less damage than we expected, when we set sail for Madrass, Mr. Coles desired me to attempt a poem descriptive of our situation on the rocks, which I did, beginning it with our departure from England, and following the Ship thro' the voyage ; but I lost that with the rest of my papers ; which however as affairs since turned out, are of no consequence.

During the remainder of our voyage I received repeated promises, that on my arrival in Bengal they would procure my discharge, and get me some Civil employment: or if I chose the Military Life, they would take such methods to recommend me as should make me satisfied with my situation.

Mr. Palmer one of the Senior Merchants of Bencoolen, told me, if there were a possibility of procuring my discharge, and I chose to go with him, he should be very glad to take me to Bencoolen. Aug 26th we came to an anchor at Madrass road, when I soon experienced the propriety of Mr. Coles's advice not to exult too soon. It seemed as if fortune had thrown this prospect of good fortune in my way, only to tantalize me ; for to our great surprise, we found the Company engaged in a french war ; and an English army laying seige to Pondicherry. All the Bengal recruits were ordered to land immediately. Soon after our arrival Mr. Coles told me, that he had endeavoured to procure my discharge, but could not ; as I was on the Bengall establishment, whither I should be sent as soon as Pondicherry was taken. That however he had wrote to Coll Braithwaite, with whom he was intimately acquainted, and strongly recommended me to his notice. I recd upwards of 30 Pagodas from the gentleman who came passengers in the Ship. Mr. Baugh and Mr. White expressed great disatisfaction at my being left behind them, but told me they would not forget when I arrived at Bengall ; and desired me to enquire for them immediately on my arrival there. As there was a sloop to sail Bencoolen shortly. Mr. Coles proceeded no farther in the Ship. Whilst he waited for the Sloop's sailing he went to Camp to see Coll Braithwaite ; on his return he told me, that he had mention'd me again to the Coll who said as I belonged to Bengall he could not be of any service to me ; but if he returned to Madrass during my stay there, he would be a friend to me as long as I remained on the coasts. Oct 8th I was draughted into a detachment for camp. I embarked on board the Companies armed Ship the Morning Star and arrived the next day in General Munro's camp befor Pondicherry. The place surrenderd the 18th and the Bengal troops were all orderd to proceed immediately to Madrass. As I now thought myself sure of going to Bengall, I thought it would be giving Coll. Braithwaite unnecessary trouble to introduce myself to him, as Mr. Coles had desired me to do the first opportunity. We embarked on board the boats at Pondicherry to go on board the Bessborough Indiaman. I had the Flux very bad. The duty here was very hard and the weather wet, which threw most

of the Recruits who were unaccustomed to this Country living, into the Bloody Flux. It was 8 O'clock at night when we got into the boats. I was so weak that I was unable to take care of my clothes ; most of which however I had left with the washerman at camp, for we came away so suddenly we could not go after them. My Fire lock and Knapsack lay in the salt water at the bottom of the boat in which we were six hours before we reached the Ship. Here all my papers by being damaged by the salt water, and my illness rendering me incapable of taking care of them, were entirely lost. All that I regretted the loss of was of 2 or 3 letters, which I had received from different persons. After beating a week at sea, endeavouring to reach Madrass, all proved ineffectual ; for instead of making way to the northward we were drove opposite Cuddalore, where we were again set on shore.

Some time afterwards we were draughted into the different corps on this establishment. All my hopes from my friends at Bengal were now entirely vanishd. I was draughted into the 2nd Battalion 1st. regiment, lying at Pondicherry which I joined the beginning of December. Ever since my arrival in India, I have been particularly attentive to put it out of the power of any one to accuse me either of disobedience of orders, Irregularity, or neglect to duty ; and to conform myself to the strictest rules of Military disciple. I had succeeded so far as never to have in any one instance, the least imputation, to the prejudice of my character, alledgd against me ; till an unhappy unforeseen accident brought me a prisoner where I now remain.

It was briefly and impartially as follows.

The 4th inst. (Jany. 1779) I recd a pagoda from the sergeant as payment for myself and another man (Robindon). I went as far as the Barrack door to see if I could get it changed : at that instant the Drill Sergeant calling "fall in for drill' I immediately turned round to Robindon, told him I must go to drill, and bid him get the Pagoda changed, and give me my share when I returned. At my return Robindon came to me and told me to my great surprise that the Pagoda was a bad one, and had been broke on his offering it in the Bazar ; and that he had been to the Captain who advanced the week's pay who refused to be at the loss of it, and askd me as I received it of the Serjeant, to go with me as I received it of the Serjeant to go with him and acquaint the Colonel of it. I complied without the least hesitation. On our relation the story, the Coll said the Company had no bad money, and that one of us must have exchanged the Pagoda we recd from the Serjeant, and offered a bad one of our own. He ordered us to come again in the morning. We did so, when he askd Robinson if the pagoda that was broke were the identical Pagoda he recd from me. Upon his answering in the affirmative, he ordered me to be committed to prison for offerring bad money, contrary to genl orders. These orders I was then ignorant of, having never heard of a bad pagoda since my being in India tho' since my confinement I have read the orders refered to in the orderly book and heard of a great many instances of people living by bad money. I have now sufficient leisure to look back and take a retrospective view of past occurrences, and see how in a short time I have toss'd about, the sport of fickle fortune, who seems to have opened prospects of success to view, only to make the reverses

more bitter. But a few months past and I thought myself fixd on my native spot for life, without the least prospect or apprehensions of a removal. A sudden reverse banish'd me from home into a mean station and amongst strangers.

Here the unexpected friendship I met with seem'd to open a bright gleam of hope, and gave me some reason to expect that I should be distinguished from the generality of persons in my station. My landing on this coast disconcerted all my hopes, and I once more sunk entirely from the distinction I had met with. Yet hitherto in whatever station of life my honesty had been unimpeachd and I submitted to my lot without repining etc. etc. I remained in the Guard 12 days, when seing no prospect of being released or brought to trial, I wrote to Mr. Jas Innes adjutant of the regiment and sent him the foregoing account of myself, and desired that he would if he were convinced of my innocence intercede, either for my enlargement, or a court martial.

He applied immediately to Coll Baillie, and represented my case in such a light, that I was released the next day ; and the day after, Jany. 18th, I was removed from the Grenadier Company in which I then was to the Camp, of which Mr. Innes had the command and appointed Corporal in the adjutants Company.

August 19th I set out from Pondicherry for Madrass, with the non-effective of the regiment who were going to pass the committee. I arrived there the 28th Augt. During our stay for the Committee's examining the men, the Ganges, and General Barker, India men, arrived from England, when I was ordered to stay to go up with the recruits belonging to our regiment.

I went on board the Nancy Ketch the 20th October and arrived at Pondicherry the next day. Jan 4 1780 the Company I belonged to was ordered to join the 1st Battn 2nd regiment, and to embark with one company of artillery, and the 8th Battn of sepoys, to join the army under General Goddard at Surat. Dec 21. 1779 I went on guard and carelessly left my trunk unlocked and the next morning when I came off guard all my money and most valuable things were gone and I never could get any information of them. Since, tho' as I had some guineas, my Adjutant immediately applied to the Commanding Officer of the Garrison who gave strict orders to all money changers, (for Money changing is a trade here) to stop any person who might offer Europe Money.

Jany. 11th we embarked on board the Horsendon, an old Indiaman. There were Seven Battalion Companys, part of the grenadiers Company, and a campt of artillery ; which with officers, Cookboys, Dubashes, and the Ship's Compy made near 700 men on board. We had very wet weather, and being so many men on board made it very disagreeable.

Off the island of Ceylon, our convoy (the Seahorse and Morning Star) chased a vessel which proved the Hawke Indiaman, from England bound to Bombay.

We put two of our Companies on board her, which gave us a little more room.

During the bad weather off the Island Ceylon, our Ship which was leaky when wc left Pondicherry sprung a fresh leak which obliged us to set our Chain pumps to work ; and we had very hard work to keep her free the remainder of the voyage.

After we got the length of Cape Comorin we had a week's calm. Here we fell in with the Resolution, Indiaman, from England to Bombay. We put into Bencoate, and got fresh provisions, and water ; and passd Bombay the 17th Febry and arrived in Surat roads the 21st. I landed the 23rd and found the rest encamped under Surat Walls, General Goddard being up the Country with the Army. We encamped in an Indigo field under the Fortwalls where we lay till the 22nd March when we marched to the Northward to meet the General who was returning with the Army from the Siege of Amadabad, a very large city in the Guzerat Country, which was taken by storm the 15th of Feby. Surat is a very plentifull place particularly for Wheat and Garden Stuff and the best Beef I ever saw since I left England. We lay close under the Walls of Surat till the 22nd of March, When the detachment went up the River in boats, and encamped on the North side of the River at a place called Nerrou about 6 miles from Surat. The village was abandoned by the Inhabitants, the Marrattas having been making excursions about the country.

March 24th lay on the same ground. This day the village was set on fire and reduced to ashes. Some of the detachment were suspected of having fired it ; but it was not proved against them. 25th the detachment marched at 3 O'clock.

A party of horse formed the advance guard : different parties of Bengal and Bombay sepoys marched on the flanks, and in the near, with orders to retire to the line in case they saw any bodies of the enemy superior to themselves.

Marched about 15 miles thro' a barren country, some few cotton fields the only cultivated ground we saw. The Earth exceeding dry, and full of large openings occasiond by the draught.

Came to the ground about 10 o'clock, encampd on the North side of the river Kim. A large fire during the night in front of the encampment supposed to be a village on fire about 2 or 3 miles distant. 26th The Assemblee beat. At one O'clock marchd in the same order as before. The face of the country much the same : no appearance of any inhabitants till we reached Osbasseen or Okryseer about 9 O'clock, when the country show'd a more agreeable prospect, the town being inhabited and the ground cultivated round it. We primed and loaded before we marched off in the morning, but hitherto saw no appearance of the enemy. Encamped with our front to a large Palmyre tope and our rear to the town. 27th general beat at 4 O'clock. Assemblee at 5. Marched about 3 miles ; and encamped soon after Sunrise on the South Bank of the river (Narbudda) just opposite to Broche which stands on the North Bank.

The river is about half a mile wide.

The country between Broche and Surat is very flat, there being no eminence in all that distance the roads exceedingly dusty.

28th lying on the same ground. 29th the artillery and Sepoys marched off at 5 O'clock to the ferry at Jamnesseer ; about 4 miles up the river 31 crossed the river and encamped on the North Bank, about a mile to the Eastward of Broche. Lay on this ground till the 10th April. April 10th we marchd from Broach where General Wedderburn lies burried, he being killed at the Storm of this place 8 or 9 years ago. Marchd at one O'clock in the morning. Came to the ground about one O'clock. Lay in a Mango Tope, did not pitch our tents. A village called Tunkariah near. This days march about 14 miles. 11th Marched about 4 O'clock. Came to the ground about ten, about 16 miles march.

A Cookboy in the rear was shot in the arm with an arrow. An alarm in the night caused the Line to fall in, but we saw no enemy. Name of the place Oseend. 12th Marched off at 7 O'clock in the evening. Came to Brodorah at Sun rise, the night's march about 24 miles.

Another boy was shot thro' the thigh by an arrow and wounded in the breast by another. Two Battalions of Bengal sepoys from the General's Camp from about 3 O'clock until daylight, when we marchd into the General's Camp. 14th all the road from Broach very dry and dusty ; and the earth full of amazing large crevices which made the marching very bad. The 16th the Enemy attacked our Foraging party during the night and carried off a considerable number of Camels, Bullocks etc. Our camp was on a large open plain near the village of Camloul which the Enemy burnt before the Army took post on the ground. A large rock about 14 miles in front of the Encampment. The Enemy lay about two miles in front on ground very full of trees and bushes. The 19th The army was marched at daybreak, and advanced towards the Enemy's Camp.

They had just left their ground when we came up with it, their Cooking fires being alight.

Our advanced guard kept often firing their small arms on some straggling parties of the Enemy.

About 7 O'clock they appeared on our right flank about half a mile distance. We fired 2 Guns at them and threw some rockets : they returned some Rockets at us without hurting us, and then made off. Soon after they showed themselves amongst the Wood on our left flank. We formed a line and began firing our artillery : soon after they disappeared.

They appear again and we again formed ; but a few shots from our artillery made them retire.

We came to our ground on the Banks of the Nullah about 9 O'clock having marched about 7 miles. We found a man and horse of the Enemy's kill'd on the ground, by our shot, whom they had not time to carry off. They kept throwing rockets, and we firing our artillery for some time after we halted. After the front of the Army came to the ground the Enemy wheel'd to the rear ; and the Company of Madrass Artillery which was in

the rear kept a very smart fire on them, and kill'd a considerable number without receiving any hurt. The 22nd we heard a very hot fire at some distance on the left of our encampment: the Enemy having attacked our foraging party; which not coming in as soon as expected, a detachment consisting of 2 European Battns. 3 Battns of Sepoys with artillery and 14, 6 and 20 Pounders, with a regiment of Cavalry, marched off about 8 O'clock at night as silent as possible. About midnight a letter was brought to the General acquainting him that the foraging party had defeated that party of the Enemy which attacked them, and killed 2 or 300 of them with the loss of 6 Sepoys kill'd and about 20 wounded. The Enemy were computed at 6000, the foraging party was composed of two Battns of Sepoys.

We marched to the ground that we came from before, near the village of Kamloule. We came there about 5 O'clock; the Enemy had just left it, we lay on the ground till day-light, when we marched back to our encampment.

24th. The army marched off at Sunrise. We marchd back to Kamloule when the Enemy's horse appeared on our flank; we halted, and got some Guns into the ruins of the village from which they fird pretty smartly, and as the Enemy were in no order the long six pounders did considerable mischief. We encamped about a mile from the ground we occupied before, still firing. We lay on the ground till the 3rd May: during which time 3 men, Everit, Ratford and Hart deserted. Hart was taken by the Horse Picquet and put in Irons in the Quarter guard, but he slipd his Irons, and got clear off in the middle of the day.

The 3rd May marched off at Sun rise: encampd about 10 O'clock about 2 miles from Broderal.

This morning 2 of the Artillery (Jamison and Caen) deserted in the afternoon. In the afternoon Wm. Mattrass was taken up by the outsentinel of the camp and the next day May 4th about noon, he was hang'd in a Mango tree for desertion, about 200 yds in front of the line. This morning some Camels and Bullocks were carried off from the rear of the Camp by the Enemy.

During our stay at Kamloule provisions exceeding dear, and forage very scarce.

May 7th this afternoon Sergt Grigg and myself were taken ill, I believe occasion'd by the extreme heat of the weather. At midnight the Bombay troops, consisting of one Company of Artillery, 2 Grenadier and 2 Battns Company's of Infantry and 2 Battns of sepoys marchd under the command of Coll Hartley for Bombay. May 8th at day break the Army marched: came to the ground on the banks of the Dadanullah about 10 O'clock.

I was extremely ill and scarce to reach the ground. Serjt Griggs was taken delirious, soon after we reached the ground, and died in half an hour after. The winds from Noon till 4 O'clock in the afternoon, very hot for some days; people falling sick in great numbers. May 9th the Army marchd at day break, left 3 Battalions of Bengal Sepoys on the ground to Canton in the Guzerat Country. Marchd an easy march of about 8 miles; saw great

plenty of Hares, Partridges, Peacocks, and Monkeys, on the line of march. We used to catch a good many Hares on the March, for if once they started, it was next to an impossibility for them to escape ; there being so many Thousands of people covering the ground all around them.

We used to shoot plenty of Peacoks which are pretty good eating ; the Monkies are very large, we have never a dog in the army able to hold one of them if he seized it. 2 or 300 of them would get into a cluster of trees near the road, where whilst our drums were beating, they would keep such a continual dancing, jumping, from the tops of trees, then catching by the lower most boughs and running up again and so on, that if 50 men had been in each tree shaking it they could not have kept it in such continual agitation but the instant the Drums left off beating they stopt.

Place of encampment Kerrwan or Sherinar, a village deserted by the people ; plenty of Bullocks and Wheat in the village. May 10th marched off at 8 O'clock at night back to the banks of the Dudanullah ; the Maharattas having surrounded the three Battalions we left there. Lay under some Mango trees all day ; our baggage being ordered to halt in the rear, and did not come up till Sun set the 11th. 12th I was appointed Serjeant in the room of Serjeant Griggs. The 3 Battns of Sepoys joind the Army again. Capt. Durand's baggage missd the road the 11th instant, and fell into the Enemy's hands, and one European who was with it was supposed to be cut in pieces, his name was J. Lewis.

14th Marchd off at daylight ; and returned to our old ground at Kirwan. 15th one division of the Army, composed of the European Battn, both parks of artillery, the 5th & 17th Battns of Sepoys marched off at 11 o'clock at night.

16th the remainder of the Army marched off at 2 o'clock in the morning came to Bowapiere, on the bank of the Narbuddah about 7 o'clock in the morning. 17th the 7th Batn of Sepoys ; a regiment of Cavalry, and the Candahar horse, marchd at 8 o'clock at night and crossd the Narbuddah under the command of Lieutt Welsh. The 18th, the 1st & 5 Battns of Sepoys, with two twelve Pounders, and some Golindawy artillery, marchd in the afternoon. The season now grew very unhealthy and people died dayly occasioned chiefly by the heat of the weather, the winds blowing so extreamly hot that the most scorching heat of the Sun is more tolerable. The birds are frequently seen to fall out of the air stone dead from the hot gusts.

The 29th the first Battn joined the Army : the 5th rejoind it 3 days before. This detachment surprised a party of the Enemy's Camp, the 22nd in the morning at daybreak, and took a great quantity of grain etc. and made the Enemy fly in the utmost confusion. During our stay on the ground I received information that I was appointed Serjeant in the 17th Carnatic Battn of Sepoys the day after I embarked for Surat from Pondicherry vizt the 12th Jany. Sickness began to rage terribly in the Army : during our stay here we buried four Commissiond Officers, and 8 or 10 non Commissiond & privates. Corporal Warral died the 21st & Mr. Rae the 23rd.

We lay in a fine Tope close on the banks of the Narbuddah, the water of which was very clear and the stream exceeding rapid.

The ground was terribly infested with Scorpions, Centipedes, and other venemous creatures. The good water of the Nerbuddah we found exceeding pleasant after lying so long in the Nullah, which is only the bed of the river at this season, we being forced to dig wells for all the water, we got out of it, which was very bad. The 29th Lieutt Jenkins died. May 31st the European Artillery & Battn with the 5 Battns of Sepoys, crossed the river at a ford knee deep in the evening, and encamped on the South Bank, under the command of Coll Brown. June 1st. the detachment marched.

General beat at one O'clock ; Assemblee at two. Marchd about 15 miles thro' a wild uncultivated country, overgrown with shrubs & bushes : a range of hills a few miles to the Eastward ; encamped about 7 O'clock on the bank of a fine rivulet of clear water. This day John Dunn was missing and could hear no account of him. Pay-master died. June 2nd marched at 4 O'clock about 8 or 9 miles and encamped at Rannyhoie on the South bank of the Narbuddah. 3rd marchd at 3 O'clock 10 or 11 miles : encamped at Oklyseer about 7 or 8 O'clock. 4th Dunn join'd this morning having lost his road, and been marching without provisions till the 3rd when he reached Broach.

Marched about 2 O'clock : reached the South Bank of the Kim, when we encampd about 8 O'clock, after 18 miles march. June 5th marched at 3 O'clock : encamped on the South Bank of Surat river (the Lappey) about 7.

6th Movd about 2 miles down the bank of the river. The remaining detachments of the Army came into the Cantonments within a few days. The detachment which marched from Bowapierre, under the command of Lieutt Welsh, attacked a considerable party of the Enemy to the Southward of Surat, in their camp at day break, & entirely defeated them. Took 2 pieces of cannon & a great number of Horses, Camels, Grain, etc. etc.

June 19th the 8th Battn of Madrass sepoys marchd into Cantonments. They landed at Surat after we marched to join the General, and had been distributed thro' the Country for the protection of the villages. June 21st moved from the tents into Bengalos built for us to Canton in; the rains coming on very heavy. By the latter end of July the violence of the rains abated, after which we had frequent showers, with intervals of fine weather. Aug. 18 Genl Goddard embarkd for Bombay, Coll Parker took the Chief Command during his absence. Sept 16th the General being returned from Bombay, sent orders from the Swalley point, for the Madrass European Battns artillery and sepoy battns to march immediately down the river side, and embark on board vessels lying in the roads, for their reception. The march was delayed till the 20th, when the orders for the Sepoys Battalions embarking were countermanded. Sept 26 the Artillery & Battns (except a Pioneer Company, which was formed and left behind, under the command of Captn McLeod) embarked in boats at the Cantonments, and fell down the river. Anchored near the mouth of the river waiting for the tide, and the 27th in the morning, went on board the Revenge and Bombay Grab. Waited for the Small craft which carried the Camp equipage, Stores etc. till the 29th in the afternoon when near 50 sail coming out of the river we took them under convoy and set sail. Oct 1st in the

afternoon, anchored off Basseen. 5th in the forenoon embarkd near Derrawa, the northernmost point of Salset Island.

The Battery at Derrawa point is about 2 miles from Basseen: we encamped in a small bay formed by Derrawa point, and another rock which projected into the sea. Oct 21 the sick who were left in Cantonments arrived in boats. 27th A Battn of Sepoys joined us from Bombay. 28th a company of European Artillery joind us from Bombay with Coll Degan and Lieutt Nelson. Nov. 3 about 4 O'clock in the afternoon, a boat lay close in shore in front of the Encampment by some accident blew up: there were between 3 and 400 barrels of Gunpowder on board: every person on board perished; vizt 2 Europeans, 3 Sepoys, about 30 Lascars and the boat men; in all 45 persons. Nov. 13 General Goddard arrived before Basseen with the remainder of the Army. The Marrattas abandoned all their outposts, and burnt the village adjacent to the Fort, on the approach of the Army.

The same evening our detachments embarked from Salset Island, at 8 O'clock and landed in the General's Camp about one in the morning of the 14th.

Our encampment was about 3 miles North of Basseen, on the sea coast. 23rd in the Evening a working party of 100 Europeans, 200 Lascars, 200 Colies, 200 Billdars, 200 Madrass & 200 Bombay sepoys, began a battery about 800 yards North west of the Fort. The Enemy did not discover them till Morning, so that they workd all night unmolested. At daylight in the Morning the Enemy began to fire, and continued by intervals all day, by which, one of the European Pioneers (Booth) had his leg shattered in such a way as obligd it to be cut off immediately. One sepoy was slightly wounded: but as most of the shot went too high they did no damage to the Battery. 24th in the evening a working party of 150 Europeans, 150 Madrass and 150 Bombay sepoys went down. We worked about 2 hours before the Enemy fird a shot; when they fird 22 Shott in less than a minute; but did no further damage than wounding One Sepoy, one European who was at work on the Marlins and going to jump into the Battery when they began firing, and wounded him in the thigh. They continued firing at intervals all night but without doing any further damage. 25th 50 Europeans, 100 Madrass & 100 Bombay Sepoys formd the working party; the Enemy gave them no further Molestation than by throwing 2 Shells which did no damage. 26th 50 Europeans, 150 Madrass & 150 Bombay sepoys form'd the working party.

We were pulling some Old Houses down and levelling the ground in front of the Battery, in the full rake of the Shott from the Fort, but they never fir'd a Shot till we had done. After we had got into the Battery they fir'd several shot, and threw 2 shells, one of which burst in the air and the other not at all, no damage done.

27th no Europeans went down, the Sepoys, Lascars, etc. were employ'd in getting everything ready to open the Battery. 28th at Sunrise the Battery (consisting of 4 double fortified 12 poundrs, 2, 18 poundrs and 6 13 Inch Mortars) were opened. They fir'd very hot from the Fort all day, but did no damage; tho' their Shott in general were well levelled. In the Evening 50

Europeans, and all the Billdars and Lascars in the Lines, went down on a working party. The Enemy never threw a Shott all night ; tho' our people threw several Shells into the Fort. Our Shells set fire to some houses in the Fort which burnt most part of the night. 29th in the morning, one of the Bombay Artillery was dangerously wounded, which was all the damage done during the day, tho' the Enemy kept up a smart fire. At night 25 Europeans went down to repair the Embrasures, which were much damag'd by our own firing ; the Enemy never fir'd all night. 30th in the morning, a European Drummer belonging to the Pioneers, was kill'd outright by a Cannon Shot.

A very hot and incissant fire was maintained during the whole day, by both parties, but no further damage received. At night 100 Europeans, 200 Bombay, & 100 Madras Sepoys, 100 Lascars, & 300 Billdars and Coolies went down as a Working party. We broke fresh ground about 100 yds. to the left of the Battery, and ran an approach of about 50 yds in length almost due South, and another from the end of it East, without the Enemy firing a single shot ; tho' we kept firing Shells every half hour, and the lightness of the night and the small distance we were from the Fort, made it impossible but they must have discovered us had they looked out. Dec. 1 this morning the Enemy fird very hot at our new works ; one Billdar was kill'd, a 2nd lost his leg, a 3rd his arm, and a 4th was slightly wounded by one Shot. In the afternoon Jonson deserted off the Quarter Guard and got into the Fort, in sight of the people in the Battery. The same number for a Working party as last night : employd in deepening and widening the Approaches, the Enemy fir'd a good deal in the night, but did no damage. 3rd The same Working party, with the addition of the 6th Bengal Battn.

The Cavalry were employed in erecting a Battery in a Tope, some distance to the left of the approaches under the immediate direction of the General. 4th 50 Europeans, 100 Carnatic, 200 Bombay Sepoys, 300 Billdars Lascars and Coolies form'd the Working party ; employed in completing the Banquet and Parapet, and laying the platforms in the Mortar Battery : the Enemy fir'd but little, and did no damage. 5th a little before sunrise the Battery built by the Cavalry, call'd the Devils Battery, consisting of 4 24 Pounders began to play, a very hot fire was likewise kept by the 6 guns Battery.

The fire from the Fort decreased considerably, tho' their guns were very well laid. This morning a Bombay Artillery man was a wounded in the leg in the 6 Gun Battery. The Enemy never discoverd the Devil's Battery till it began to play on them : Lieutt Sir J. Gordon was wounded, and his leg cut off.

In the eveg they began to play from 6 10 inch Mortars, & 14 Cohorns, and Royals, in the New Battery. This evening 200 Europeans, 1000 Lascars, sepoys etc. began a new Battery on the left of the Caratell : the Enemy fir'd but little and did no damage. 6th Europeans 200, and 500 Sepoys etc. form'd the working party ; the Enemy fir'd till about midnight pretty smartly and the Shells were very well directed, but did no damage, 7th the fire from our Batteries was very hot, and but little from the Fort. In the evening 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys etc. form'd the working party. About half an

hour after Sunset one of our Shells blew up a magazine in the Fort. No damage done all night except by one Shot which raked the avenue that leads to the trenches and kill'd 2 Sepoys.

8th no Europeans went down, the Pioneers and artificers were employed laying the platforms and mounting the Guns. 9th at Sunrise the Battery of 7 24's and two 32 Pounders was opened, and maintained a very hot and incessant fire all day. 10th 200 Europeans were employed making facines. The Battery play'd very hot all day ; and the Mortars and Cohorns threw a vast number of Shells and Carcases. This day the wall began to fall down a great pace : the fire from the Fort was almost silenced ; they had but three Guns which they continued to work. 11th at one O'clock in the morning a flag of truce came out of the Fort, and the firing ceased ; till about 7 O'clock when the Fort not agreeing to the terms proposed by the General our Battery open'd again, and fir'd very hot about half an hour when they came out again. The General allowed them till noon to consider ; at which time the Signal agreed on for surrendering was hoisted, and about 2 O'clock they began to march out, and our Grenadiers took possession. Jonson the deserter was delivered up and put in Irons. 12th all the Grenadiers of the Army, with the Regiment of Cavalry, and the Candahars marchd and joined Coll Hartley, who defended a pass thro' the Mountains, during the Seige, with a detachment of Bombay troops : but the Maratta's coming down in great numbers he was forced to retreat, tho' with very little loss, till this detachment join'd him, soon after which the Enemy withdrew. Decr 16 Sir John Gordon died, his body was interr'd in Basseen. Dec 26th the Worcester Man of War Captn Tabbat, and the Coventry Frigate Captn Mittchel arrived off Basseen 29 the 1st Battn of Bengal Sepoys march'd and join'd Coll Hartley's attachment at Vesseraby and the Corps of Pioneers with the 5th 6th & 7 Bengal Battalions and Company of Bombay artillery were ordered for the attack of Arnob, a fort situated on a bank in the Sea, about 10 or 12 miles to the Northward of Basseen.

Jany 1. 1781 our troops began firing at Arnole, from a Battery built on Basseen Island about 14 or 1500 yds. from the walls, and the Worcester and Coventry with the Revenge and Bombay Grab, Company's Armed Ships, which had covered the Seige of Basseen, stood in as near as they could on the South side of the Fort, and fir'd very hot for some days. Jany 8th the Madrass Artillery join'd the detachment before Arnold. After some days the shipping not being able to get near enough to do any material damage to the Fort drew off.

The Batteries on shore tho' at such a great distance by continual firing breach'd a bastion on the East face ; and Jany 17th everything was got ready to storm. The hundred Europeans march'd from Camp for that purpose ; but just after dark the Enemy having begun to treat for the Fort the Europeans were sent back.* At about 10 O'clock at night the Batteries began firing again, and continued a hot fire till about 5 in the morning of the 18th, when the place surrender'd.

By the surrender of these two Forts the Company became masters of the Island of Basseen, and the most fertile spot I have seen in India. It is form'd

by a small branch of the Sea which running between Derrawa and Basseen Fort turns one branch to the Southward which forms Salset Island, and another to the Northward, & runs into the Sea again above Arnold forming Basseen Island, which is about 14 or 16 miles long, and 6 broad. For about half a mile from the Sea is an open plain of Cornland: then a fine Tope of many sorts of trees, such as Mango, Arrack, Nut, great numbers of Cocoa, Palmetto, and Guavas, which is about two miles broad and runs the whole length of the Island. Full of houses: fine tanks of water with which by means of a large wheel resembling the water wheel of one of your Corn or Paper Mills surrounded with earthen pots and turned by another Cogg wheel, which is moved by a bullock, they water their plantation of Plantane trees etc. The Eastern part of the Island beyond the Tope is a plain of paddy fields, with some marsh land. Basseen fort was built by the Portugueze who were Masters of the Island a long time till the Mahrattas took it from them about 40 & 50 years ago, after having invested it three years. There are the remains of some very magnificent churches, built by the Portuguese in the Fort. The Mahrattas had about 200 pieces of cannon, and Mortars in the Fort, most of them Portuguese and Spanish. I saw some dated about 200 years ago, very much damaged by rust; they had some of their own casting; one brass piece was about 21 feet long and 10 Inchs in diameter. The Ignorance of the Mahrattas in the art of war was very conspicuous during the Attack of this Island; for the only passage to it on the land side was by means of a large wooden bridge, which they neither defended nor destroyed, either of which would have greatly retarded our operations! and during the Seige they seldom fired any during the night, by which means we carried on our works without loss or molestation. Thro' the folly of the inhabitants or malice of the Commanders almost all the houses in the Island were burnt down on our approach: the Inhabitants applied themselves with great assiduity to re-building them as soon as the Fort was taken. There is one of the most beautiful places I ever saw some time past very agreeably: The Island abounds with Cocoa nuts, Mangos, Plaintains and all other fruit, common to the climate. After Basseen was taken and the inhabitants who abandoned the village during the Seige returned to their houses, we could get Toddy at any of their houses, for 3d or 4d a gallon. This Toddy is one of the most agreeable liquors I ever drank (when not adulterated): it is the Sap of Date, Palmetto, & Cocoanut trees, a branch of which being cut off, and a pot hung to the end of it receives the juice: it is very sweet when fresh drawn, but turns sour in 24 hours and makes good vinegar. All the bread in this country is raised with it, for a little of it mixed with the dough will raise it sooner than the best yeast in England: there is plenty of it in most parts of the Country, but I never met with it so good as here, for where Europeans frequently lie, the people get a custom of watering it, but here where the Inhabitants are strange to Europeans and we had it pure as it came out of the tree. When I can get it I seldom drink any other liquor. I used to go out a Shooting frequently here, for here was plenty of pheasants and many other sorts of Birds; and on the Ponds plenty of Teal, Widgeons, Duck etc. but it was impossible to get at them for the water was full of crocodiles or Alligators, so that if you

shot them, neither yourself nor Dog dare go in to fetch them. Jany 22nd the Madrass detachment marched off at day break : we marched North East about 10 miles, encamped at the foot of the hills.

Some one set fire to the long grass which was scorched up by the Sun at the foot of the Hills ; the fire burnt all day and night, and ran over the Hills for some miles, 23rd Marched at day break encamped among the Hills. Great stacks of Paddy had been burnt by the Enemy in the vallies ; our people found great quantities of corn buried in the earth. This days march 10 miles.

24th Marched about half an hour before day break encamped at Visseraby, about 8 miles ; and join'd Coll Hartley's detachment. This place is greatly resorted to on account of the hot baths of which there are great numbers ; some on the bank, and some in the bed of the river ; some blood warm, and some so hot a person is not able to keep his hand in the space of a second. Some visit them for Physical purposes, but more from religious motives ; all the Gentoo casts esteeming it as highly meritorious to Bathe in them. There are the Gentoo places of worship on the bank of the river. Jan 27 all the troops composing the Army being assembled, marched at 5 O'clock : disposed in the following order of march and encampment.

Advanced Guard
Pioneers corps
2nd divison Grenadiers
2 six Pounders

Right wing Commanded by Coll Parker	2 Battn & ordnance Park of artillery 2 Battn & ordnance	Bengal division
Center Commanded by Major West phatt	Battn Europeans Battn Sepoys Park of artillery Battn Sepoys	Bombay division
Left wing Commanded by Coll Brown	Battn Europeans Park of artillery Battn Sepoys	Madrass division

Marched thro' the pass where Coll Hartley was surrounded when our Grenadiers came to his assistance : encamped on the East side of the Pass, near Dooghur ; saw no appearance of the Enemy ; about 6 miles march. The regiment of Cavalry marchd on our left flank and the Candahar Corps in rear of the whole. 28th Heath and Hardeny deserted this morning. The army marched at daybreak, about 12 miles among the hills ; encamped about one O'clock on the south bank of the Batea. Saw none of the Enemy tho' we marched over several of their encamping grounds ; a great number of them had lain on the place where we pitched. 29th Marched off at day light : marched about 3 miles, and found the Enemy drawn up on the Culloo Nuddy near Juthiary.

Our advanced Guard cross'd the Nuddy and the Enemy began throwing rockets, but as the Army came over, and began to form they retired. The army formed alive on the bank of the Nuddy, and continued under arms some time, till the Enemy by degrees retired over a hill about 2 miles distant.

30th the Army halted: the Enemy fir'd all the villages round our encampment, as they had done thro' all the country we marched. 31st the Army marched at day break, marched about 2 miles over a plain, when we found the Enemy drawn up across the road, and on a hill on the left of the line of march: the Army halted, and a good deal of firing pass'd between the Enemy and the advanced Guard; but on a party of Sepoys advancing to the hill the Enemy retired to a hollow in front.

After about half an hour's cannonading they retired to another range of hills on each side the line of march, which they made a show of defending some time, fir'd a good many Shott, and threw rockets, but on the advanced Guard of the army advancing up the hill, with 2 6 pounders they went off and we saw no more of them that day. We had 5 or 6 of the Cavalry, and some horses kill'd and wounded. After about five miles' march we encamped about noon at Burwell. Feb 1st marched at day break about six miles; encamped at Badlepore. Our advanced Guard fir'd some Shott at the Enemy, from a rising ground, in front of the encampment after we came to the ground. Sent the sick, and part of the Baggage this morning with an escort to Callian. 2nd the army halted, 3rd Halted. 4th march'd at day break. The body of the Enemy lay about seven miles off, on a plain along the banks of the river which runs by Basseen.

They had an advanced post on the bank of the Nullah about 3 miles from Badlepore, when the advanced guard arrived on the opposite bank, and fir'd 4 or 5 Cannon Shot, by which we saw 2 of their horses kill'd, they retired. The entrance on the plain was thro' a narrow hollow road, with hills on each side, covered with wood: as soon as our advanced Guard appeared thro' the pass they began a very smart fire, and continued firing Cannon, & Small Arms, and throwing rockets, till two of our field pieces came up, and began to fire, soon after which they retired, and were driven off the plain with some precipitation firing every thing as they went.

Serjt Lambert of the Pioneers, and a European Gunner of the artillery were wounded in the leg by a rocket, and 4 or 5 Sepoys were wounded but none kill'd: encamped at Damotte. The grass in the Country grows in the rainy season to the height of 6 or 7 feet, which after the rains are over is scorched up by the Sun till it is like straw. This the Marattas fir'd whenever we went, to distress our cattle: the fire runs often for miles round, till it meets with water, ploughed ground, or a barren rock to check its progress.

There was a large village, in rear of the encampment, on fire when we came to the ground, about one o'clock. The direction of our march from Vessaraby about South East. 5th Marchd at day break: our line of march was between two ranges of Rocks which ran North & South, about 4 or 5 miles distance. When we had marched about 3 miles a body of the Enemys horse taking advantage of a thick fog, came down on our left flank, and made a

charge on the baggage, and carried off several Camels & Bullocks before we could get a Gun to bear on them with which they retired. The General rode back to the rear in great haste and got two Guns to fire on them, which obliged them to leave a good deal of what they had driven out of our Line. Ensign Jameson, a Bombay officer, who was sick in the rear, in a Dooley was kill'd a Serjeant 5 or 6 Sepoys, and several of the Camp followers were wounded. The army halted ; and a Battn with 2 Guns was detached to recover what Baggage we could, till about one O'clock when we marched to Dhoilley, were we encamp'd about 4 O'clock. 6 Halted. 7th march'd at Sun rise ; the rout of the Army lying thro' a pass, where the ranges of hills were not above 500 yds. distance. The Enemy kept skirmishing with the rear during our passage tho it, we had several camp followers kill'd and 7 or 8 Sepoys killed & wounded. After we were thro' the Enemy appeared in front, but retired on our firing 4 or 5 Guns. Encamped about—O'clock at Mhurr : march 6 miles. 8th march'd by the left at day break, turn'd up to the Eastward, and encamped close under the hills at Campoly, the Enemy appear'd on our left flank, but retir'd on our firing 2 Guns. March 3 miles.

Our camp was surrounded with Mountains, except to the Northward, when it was plain ground from one range of hill to another about a mile off. At 11 O'clock at night, a party composed of the Pioneers, European Grenadiers, the 3rd division of Bengal, Grenadier Sepoys, supported by the 7th Batt Sepoys, and 8th Carnatic Battn with 2 6 pounders, two 2 pounders, and the Bombay Grass hoppers field pieces marched to attack the Boor Ghaat, a pass up the mountains leading into the Poonah Country. The remainder of the army formed a line from one range of hills to another, to defend the camp, in case of the army in the rear attempting to attack it, when the heart (they heard?) the attack of the Ghaat begin. About one O'clock in the Morning of the 9th the Enemy began to fire from their posts in the Ghaat, on discovering our troops advancing. A very hot fire continued the remainder of the night, the Enemy retiring from one Post to another up the Ghaat, as our troops advanced, till at day break we saw our troops had reached the top of the mountain. The Enemy's troops that lay in the rear never moved all night.

We were agreeably surprized in the Morning to hear that notwithstanding the hot fire from the Enemy of Cannon, Musquetry & rockets for near five hours, our party had sustain'd no loss, not one European being kill'd and only 2 or 3 Sepoys wounded. Our troops took post at the top of the Ghaat at Condolah, with an advanced post about two miles in front : about 4 miles up the Ghaat, The Enemy lay on a large plain to the Eastward of the Ghaat : almost every day large bodies of them came to the hill in front of the advanced Post, where they brought their Guns, generally about 10 O'clock in the Morning, and cannonade our advanced Post till about 2 or 3 in the after noon when they usually withdrew. 20th we began throwing up works at the advanced Post for the defence of it.

There was a large Hollow between our Post and the place where the Enemy brought their Guns which made it impossible for us to attempt taking them. We recd. but little loss, from the time we took the Ghaat only 3

Europeans being wounded, and 9 or 10 Sepoys kill'd and wounded, till March 1st when the Madrass Bombay Europeans with the 6th Battn Bengal Sepoys march'd up the Ghaat to Condolah.

We had several escorts both to and from Panwell & Callian for stores and grain without meeting with any interruption from the Enemy, till the 3rd March about 2 in the Morning, when an Escort returning from Panwell were attacked by the Enemy's horse, and lost about 800 Bullocks loaded with grain ; at the same time they attacked the Camp below the Ghaat, and carried off a considerable number of cattle etc. 8th the 5th Battn. Bengal & the first Battn Bombay Sepoys, with the Candahars march'd for Panwell, Commanded by Captn. Mackay. 14th March Serjt Davis and Clark deserted to the Enemy ; the same afternoon Serjt Horne of the Grenadiers made his escape from the Quarter Guard, ran thro' the Bazaar, and once a high hill to the right of the encampment, in sight of the Guard, and got clear off to the Enemy, tho' immediately pursued both by Europeans & Spoys. March 17th Alcot deserted. This day 3 of the Enemy's Shott coming over the Line ; one of them went thro' an Officers Marque in the regiment, but did no damage. This morning 1st Battn. 4 Grenadiers Companies of Sepoys, march'd to reinforce Captn. Mackay, who was surrounded by a large body of the Enemy on his return from Panwell : they made a sharp attack on his Escort, and cut one Company of Bengal sepoys to pieces, and took their colonis ; the Soubhadar having advanced further from the Line than he was ordered ; 9 were kill'd and 24 desparately wounded before any assistance could come to them, one European a recovered man coming up from Basseen Hospital was slightly wounded. But the Enemy were beat off without taking any of our stores. 20th in the morning Corporal Webber, Sheatly and Davis Grenadiers deserted. This day the Enemy brought 3 Guns nearer our lines on the left flank than they had before, from which they fir'd a great many Shot at us, some grounded just in front of the Line, and some went over, but did us no damage.

An officer and several sepoys were wounded at one of our advanced Posts. About 3 O'clock the Europeans marched out in front ; the Enemy retreated as we advanced : we returned to the line between 4 and 5. Two Europeans Drake & Perry were brought in just as the Battn. marched off for attempting to desert ; immediately on our return gallows were erected, and they were ordered to be executed, but the Gnl. pardoned them under the gallows and order'd them on board a Man of War. 27th the regiment of Mogul Cavalry, the Candahars, the Grenadiers of the 1st Battn. Bengal Sepoys, the 3rd Battn. 8 Carnatic and first Bombay Battn., March'd for Panwell under the command of Coll. Brown. 13 April in the Morning we heard firing below the Ghaat at a considerable distance. The Enemy in front came sooner than usual and was very near the advanced post before our people began firing, when our Shot did great execution. About 10 O'clock the firing from below ceased, and the Enemy drew off in front. 14th Coll. Browne arrived at Campoly with the Escort : he was attacked going to Panwell and lost a considerable number of Bullocks. Great numbers of the Enemy went down the

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Corinda Ghatt (a pass a little to the Southward of the Boorgaat) to attack Coll Browne on his return: they did so on the 12th, 13th and 14th, but were beat off with great slaughter. We had one European Officer kill'd and five wounded, and about 100 men kill'd and wounded. 2 Battns of Bengal Sepoys and a Company of Europeans, join'd Coll Brown at Panwell.

3 Tumbrils belonging to the Escort, blew up, 2 going down, and one returning. 18th the morning the Army returned down the Ghaat to Campoly: some stragglers of the Enemy appeared on the top of the Ghaat as soon as our near Guard left but never offered to attack them: we encamped on the Ground from which we fired on the Enemy on the march from ——. 20th March'd at Sunrise in the following order. Carnatic Battns. Bombay detach't, which joined Coll Brown 1st Battn. Bombay Sepoys; the European and Madras parks of artillery, 5 Battns. Bengal Sepoys; 6 & 8 Battns. of Bombay Sepoys, Bombay Park of Artillery; 13th Battn. Bombay Sepoys; 7 Battns. Bengal Sepoys, 2 6 pounders. Four Zenere (?) Grenadiers Compy, the Pioneer Corps—and one Battn. Bengal Sepoys form'd the rear guard: the Cavalry march'd on the flank to cover the Baggage.

It was intended to have maintained a post on the top of the Gaat during the rainy season, for which purpose a great quantity of ammunition and provisions were brought to the foot of the Ghaat, this design being abandoned, and the want of forage having brought the cattle exceeding poor, and many of them being unfit for carriage, we were forced to leave a great quantity of store and Shot on the Ground for want of Cattle to convey it away: a great quantity of grain, both rice & wheat we burned. The Enemy attack'd our rear as soon as we were off the Ground, and continued skirmishing all this day's march, but did little damage.

(Note. From the original manuscript of which this is a copy, several leaves are lost, in this place, and in order that such a chasm should not interrupt the historical connection, an extract from one of his letters is here inserted. W. E. Hickson.)

21st. we marched again: the Enemy attacked as before we were off our encamping ground, the first Cannon shot they fiired blew up one of our ammunition Tumbrils. The road being amongst hills and hollow ways, where it was impossible to form a line, to bring them to a regular action, they took advantage of the ground where they posted their Guns in such places that we could not attack them: they likewise showered their rockets very plentifully amongst us. A rocket is a round hollow piece of iron, like a piece of a Gun barrel, but 6 or 7 inches round, and about 9 or 10 long; tho' they are of different sizes, from 1½ to 9 lb. weight. They are fill'd with powder and other combustibles, and tied to a large Bamboo; the powder being fired they are thrown in the air, and continue flying as long as the powder lasts: they will go a mile or a mile and half with such force that the body of a horse or Bullock will not stop them: a stroke from the Bamboo to which they are tied will break a man's thigh: where you are near the Enemy they do not throw them in the air, but on the ground when they are by far the most dangerous.

We had about 300 men kill'd and wounded this day's march, amongst whom were 13 or 14 European Officers.

The 22nd we halted, burnt and destroyed all our spare stores which by delaying our march favoured the Enemy's attack. At Midnight sent all our baggage on in front with a strong Guard, and lay on our arms on the road till day break of the 23rd, when we march'd again. The Enemy soon attacked us in the same manner as the 21st, one of their rockets blew up another of our tumbrils: the firing continued with great violence all the forenoon: our rear guard no sooner quitted any of the hills and rocks in the road than the Enemy were on them ; they came so near as to call to us and ask us what we were running away for, and why we did not keep and take Poonah (Poonah is the Capital of the Mahratta Country). About noon we came to a little plain where there was room to form part of our army we made such good use of our Cannon that they scampered away faster than they came, and left us unmolested the remainder of our march.

We encamped at Panwell to which place a salt water river runs up from Bombay, about 4 O'clock greatly fatigued with being so many hours under arms in the heat of the Sun, and greatly distressed for water. Here we lay till the 20th of May when we marched off at 8 O'clock at night, and continued marching till 4 O'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when we encamped at Cachian, a fort which the Bombay troops took from the Marattas about a year before. This march was the greatest fatigue I ever endured ; the excessive heat of the Sun, and want of water made many people lie down and die on the road, and others did not come up till 2 days afterwards.

Happily the Enemy never showed themselves ; had they attacked us in the middle of the day we were so worn out and dispersed with fatigue, that 6 or 7000 fresh men might have cut off the whole Army. May 25th we embarked in large boats for Bombay. Thro' the neglect of our Quarter master the boat in which I was had scarcely any water on board.

The next Morning being obliged to anchor to wait for the turn of the tide, my captain sent me on shore, on Salset Insland with 7 or 8 men to search for water.

We found a village with a well of water about a mile from the Shore from which we watered our boat, but when we came to sail three of my men were missing, having straggled up the country in search of Toddy, and I was left in a small boat to wait their return. After about an hour they came skipping over the field laden with Toddy ; and we overtook the boat opposite the Fort of Tannah, which having soon after passed, our boat struck on the rocks in the straits. The tide of Ebb ran very strong, and we expected the boat to be dash'd to pieces every instant. Our Captain went on shore to endeavour to procure another boat from the commanding officer at Tannah, but all he could procure were two small boats just big enough for us to stand in. With these we passed the Shallows and waited near the Shore for morning, for it was near midnight, and we had neither victuals, nor water : in the morning the captain sent me to Tannah to purchase provisions. I having seized a large boat, belonging to a black merchant, we again set

sail, fully assured of reaching Bombay before night, but were disappointed, for the tide turned when we were about 12 miles from it. Our water was exhausted and I was again sent on shore with 3 Black fellows, in the dark, to procure some, which we did not without my losing most of skin off my shins, among the rocks, on the shore. The next morning we all arrived safe at Bombay, June 4th the declaration of war against the dutch was publickly read in Bombay, and the dutch factories at Surat, Broack and other places on the coast seized. The Madras regiment being ordered to the Bombay Establishment and the 8th Carnatic Battalion of Sepoys to return to Madrass Coll. Brown removed me the 20th June from the regiment to the Sepoy Battn and on the 30th Captn Walker appointed me Serjeant Major of the Battn. July 5th we embarked on board the Portsmouth (Portland ?), Ponsborne, and Contracter Indiamen for Madrass. I went on board the Portland which had a very pleasant voyage to Madrass, where arrived the 26th of the same month. I found the Carnatic which I left in such a peacable and flourishing condition in the utmost confusion and distress. When I left the Carnatic in Jany 80, it was in a state of tranquility and plenty: Rice sold in Pondicherry 18 or 20 measures for a rupee, For 5 or 6 Rupees, one might buy a hog of 12 or 14 stone weight. Sheep 6 or 7 for a Pagoda, Shoes 2 Fanams a pair, exceeding good shirt cloth, at the rate of a Rupee or 15 Fanams a Shirt; Nankeen (of which we made Breeches & Waist Coats) at ½ a Pagoda a piece; and every other article in proportion: On my return from Bombay I found a shocking alteration in affairs, all the towns in the country, except the fortified ones, burnt to the ground; the lands lying waste where their lately peacable and plentiful habitation stood: not a grain of rice to be purchased at any rate of 6 measures a Rupee, to those who were favoured with it. The troops being supplied along time salt provisions you may judge at what a rate fresh meat sold, when any could be procured; after our action with Hyder, the army being in the Polygar Country which had not been distroyed, we got plenty of mutton and beef; tho, still every other article was very dear, Sugar Candy, the only kind of Sugar that was to be got, sold at the rate of 20 ruppes a pound, and spiritous liquors such as Brandy Rum etc. sold at 14 or 15 Pagodas a dozen. After a severe fit of sickness the only thing that agreed with my stomach was milk, for which it cost me 4 or 5 Fanams every morning, for my breakfast for some time. The distresses of the poor miserable inhabitants, are enough to pierce the unfeeling heart. I never sat down to eat, but I see, numbers of poor starving wretches, waiting for the bones and scrapings, and even almost fighting for them. I have seen them cutting up Horses and Bullocks which have died on the march or been kill'd and which have lain till they have been offensive to a person's nose; which they very soon ate. All the Europeans in the Company's service, when in the field got one pound and half of meat, a measure of rice & 2 drams of arrack (at the rate of 40 to the gallon) per day, at the Company's expense. This alone will keep a man from feeling the severity of Hunger.

I know that in England an opinion prevails of this country being extremely unhealthy this takes foundation in a great measure from the very few of those that enter into the Company's service that ever return to England, but this

must not be attributed to the climate alone, many other reasons concern to prevent the return of the majority of the soldiers. I shall name the principal. The climate must be acknowledged as one reason as most people after their arrival are attacked with the bloody flux, after their recovery from which, I don't see but people who do not destroy their constitution by intemperance generally enjoy their health as well as in Europe. But intemperance in a variety of ways destroys thousands of its unhappy votaries ; first Drinking is carried to such an excess as is hardly credible ; half a pint of arrack for a morning's dram is as common as a glass of gin in London. This vice prevails thro' the army to a dreadful degree and many unhappy youths who on their arrival seem'd sober steady men by the prevailing force of bad example, soon fall unhappy victims to it. Gaining is another rice which is the immediate forerunner of the former ; during seige particularly, (when the troops are paid for every day's work in the trenches and sometimes perhaps 1, 2 or 3 Pagodas for as many hours work in dangerous places) when you may frequently see private men setting 20 rupees on the cast of a die. The winners at this generally spend the money in debauchery, to the ruin of their constitution, whilst the losers often have recourse to unjustifiable means to supply their necessaries, and by that means bring themselves to punishment and infamy. The fatal effects of venereal disorders are only to be conceived by those who have been in hot climates and seen the many wretched spectacles it occasions ; in the short time I have been in India I have seen numberless examples of unhappy wretches who have died in the most loathsome condition and others who have been reduced to go on crutches the remainder of their days, helpless and emaciated, either from the effects of this disorder or from the injudicious administration of desperate medicines for its cure.

Yet so general is the intercourse with the most abandoned Prostitutes that when I was in Genl. Goddard's army there was a part of the camp allotted for them to pitch their tents in, which went by the name of Loll Bazaar when we arrived in cantonments near Surat the following remarkable orders were given out from head quarters "a committee of Surgeens to assemble on the —— inst. to examine the public women of the Bazaar. Those that are found disordered are to be sent to the Hospital at Surat".

Another principle reason for the smallness of the numbers of those who return to their Native Country is the good provisions the Company makes for those who by age, sickness, wound or any other means are rendered incapable of service in the field ; if they are not so disabled but can mount guard now & then, they are put into some garrison where they receive their full pay & generally get a little house of their own, with a yard and garden and keep Hogs, Fowls, Ducks etc. and pass the latter part of their lives in peace and ease. If they are entirely incapable of duty they get half a Pagoda per month taken from their pay and have nothing to do but attend muster once a month and receive their pay: If they are disabled by wounds they get their full pay. These considerations (with the further inducement of 25 Pagodas bounty which the Company allows at the expiration of every 5 years to those who renew their time) induces most people to stay in the Country who have not some particular reasons for returning, for here they

are sure of a provision in age sickness or any other situation which may render them incapable of procuring their own livelihood. Another reason which detains great numbers here is the engagement with the female (not the fair) sex. Many people who on their first coming here profess the strongest determination of returning home, before their 5 years is expired have a wife and children ; and great numbers of those who do not marry keep women and have large families of children and very few of those who ever enter into any of these engagements ever think of going home afterwards. In our Battn there is a Serjeant Major, Quarter Master, Serjeant, Drill Serjeant & 4 Serjeants besides, out of whom there is but one (besides myself) single and he is using every means to get double as soon as he can. Our Drill Serjeant was married a few days ago : as he was so importunate with me to be present at the wedding, that I could not well refuse him, so I cannot resist the inclination I have, to give you a description of an Asiatic Beauty. I should just take note of the courtship, which (as the couple could not understand a word of each other's language) was carried on thro' the mouth of our Quarter Master serjeant who having been a good many years in the Country and married some time, had acquired a competent knowledge in the Country tongue : he used to sit with the girl on his knee, whilst the future bridegroom stood at an humble distance to propose his questions, & receive her answers thro' the mouth of the spokesman. At length every preliminary being settled, on the happy day, I accompanied the bridegroom into the fort where he was to meet his bride : it was half past 11 O'clock before she was dressed, her hair which was long and black was roll'd in a wreath (resembling the manner in which a snake coils itself) on the crown of her head & fastened with a long pin, with a broad flat gold head, which appeared in front ; all round this wreath were stuck flowers and bits of leaf gold, scattered all over her hair ; round her neck were several strings of Gold beads of different lengths, some just long enough to go round, and gradually lengthening till the longest reached down to the middle. On very finger and thumb she had one or more gold rings, some set with stones of different sorts, on her arms gold bracelets of a very large size, in her ears gold pendants dividing into different branches : the remainder of her dress was a sort of jacket or petti-wat of flowered blue silk, and silk shoes worked with gold flowers for Hat, Bonnet, Cap, Apron, Stays or Stockings constitutes no part of the female dress, in this part of the world nor shoes, except on such extraordinary occasions. As to her person she was about 13 years of age (for there are 5 instances in this country, of women bearing children at 15 years of age, for one in England at 20, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each) and her complexion bore a greater resemblance to charcoal than Ivory. After we returned from the church the afternoon was spent with music and dancing in which diversions, being not qualified to act a part, either by abilities or inclination I took a walk round the fortifications of Fort St. George and returned to supper after which I immediately set out for home without finding the least inclination, to wish myself in the place of the happy bridegroom.

Hyder Ali the Nabab of a large tract of land adjoining the Carnatic called the Misour country, having at the instigation of the French invaded it, with

an army of from 80 to 100,000 men, with which he had overrun and burnt everything that fire could destroy, making the country such a scene of desolation as can hardly be conceived.

With his whole army he attacked Coll Baillie, on the 10 Sept. 1780 who had only a detachment of 5 Companys of Europeans, and about 3 Battns of Sepoys, yet repulsed Hyder's troops many times with great slaughter till two ammunition tumbrils blew up when being without ammunition Hyder's horse and fighting Elephants broke in and cut them to pieces, making it such a slaughter as was never known by any Europeans in India before. Some few of our men who fell into the hands of a body of French Hussars were made prisoners, all the rest were kill'd on the Spot and all their Cannon (10 pieces) arms, colours, baggage etc. taken. It is said Hyder lost 10,000 of his troops in the action.

(Note in a letter written when lying on the top of the Gaut he gives the following particulars respecting Coll Baillie's detachment. W. C. Hickson.)

We hear bad news from the Carnatic Coll Baillie with Lord MacLeods Grenadiers and light Infantry, two Companies of the Company's Grenadiers (one of which is the Company from which I was removed) ten sepoys Grenadiers Companies, a Company of Marksmen, and 3 Battns of Sepoys with 10 pieces of Cannon were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces by Hyder Ali, owing to the blowing up of two tumbrills of ammunition, and the inactivity of the grand army under General Munro, who was within 9 miles of them when this happened. Had I room to be circumstantial I could make the heart of a savage bleed. I dare say you will have enough of it in the public papers, and if true accounts you will know who to blame.

There is a vacancy at present for Serjeant Major of the 8th Carnatic Battn of Sepoys, the Captn of that Battn has made repeated applications for me, but Col. Brown who commands our detachment will not remove me, on account there is no other Serjeant in the Company I belong to, to supply my place, the other being sick at Basseen, however as it has been vacant there 2 months and the Captn will not have any other person if he can get me by any means, I am still in hopes to be removed whenever another Serjeant joins this Company. My pay at present is 26 Rupees per month (a rupee equals 2/6) and half a pint of arrack besides per day, besides perquisites as pay Serjeant with which I can generally make my pay as good as a guinea per week, but should I be removed and appointed Serjeant Major my pay will be double.

My contracted time will expire Augt 1783 when no flattering prospect shall induce me to stay in this country except any news from home shall make me alter my resolution. At present my situation is extremely easy my Captn (Letcher) placing such confidence in me that he leaves the management of the Company almost entirely to me and I believe his unwillingness to part with me, is the chief obstacle to my promotion. However, in my present state I have saved near £40 sterling. For curiousity I shall seal this letter with a Gold Moor (a coin value 36s.) to give you a specimen of the country coin.

After this General Monro retreated, with the remainder of his army from Coryiveram to Manelou plain near Madrass: whilst Hyder continued his ravages over the whole country. He beseiged and took Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and sent the Garrison to Madrass on condition of never taking the field again. In Jany 1781 Genl Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal, and took the Chief Command of our army, with which he took the field soon after, and tho' greatly inferior in numbers to the Enemy, yet he made them raise the seige of Wandewash and Permacoil, 2 forts which Hyder had attacked. He also retook Cacangolly and on the 1st July defeated Hyder in a sharp engagement near Porto Novo. But not having carriage for the provisions of his army he was obliged to keep near the sea coast, when the Shipping could bring them supplies from Madrass.

When we arrived the army was returned to St. Thomas Mount 7 miles from Madras. 2 detachments had taken the dutch fort of Madrass and Pullicate, and Admiral Hughes was gone with the fleet to block up Negapatnam, the principal dutch settlement on the coast. Aug 15th the army being joined by a large reinforcement from Bengal marched from St. Thomas Mount and on the 19th encamped before Trepasore which Fort was immediately invested and on the 22nd it surrendered: we had two 10 pounders burst during the attack by one of which an officer of our Battalion was kill'd. We marched from Trepasore the 26th, and saw some parties of the Enemy's Horse and from the clouds of dust in front supposed their army to be in motion. 27th in the morng we saw the Enemy drawn across the roads: their left on the ground which proved so unfortunate to Coll Baillie and his handfull of brave troops, their center was posted at a village call'd Pallibore behind the ruin'd houses, and in a large plantation of plantane tress: their right extended amongst swamy ground, and hollow ways, and all their cannon was posted behind Banks so to be hid from our view. Our Line halted, while General Coote rode in front to reconnoitore the situation of the Enemy. He then ordered the Cavalry which were in front to go back for the protection of the Baggage ; and our Battn which was the advanced guard of the army that day, to wheel to the left of the road, and cross a water course, after which we were to advance to a Bank, about 6 or 700 yds distant from the Enemy's line, where we were to take post, and cannonade the Enemy from the 2 6 pounders attached to our Battalion, till the rest of the army could come up and form. We had no sooner got over the water course and were advancing over a sandy plain than the Enemy began a hot fire on us from 18 or 20 pieces of Cannon, which crossed and raked the line in all directions. They knocked down of our men but happily we gained our post without having any of the Bullocks which drew our guns kill'd: had they kill'd any of them, the delay it would occasion whilst we were in the full rake of their shot, would in all probability occasioned our losing a great many men. After we had got to the Bank we were in a great measure sheltered from their shot yet before the Bullocks were got out of the Guns, and taken away, eight of them were kill'd.

We fir'd our two Guns as fast as we could load them, the Enemy shot and Rocket kept flying in showers around us. We were here near half an

hour before any more of the army came up to engage, after they came up and began firing, it took off the heat of the fire, in some measure, from our Battalion.

The Enemy seing us detached from the Line, a body of their Horse made two or three movements as if they intended to surround us, but we drove them off with our fire-arms. The cannonade began at 9 O'clock and continued till 2 O'clock in the afternoon, before I could see any probability of either side getting the better, their being nothing but one continued roar from 120 pieces of Cannon, which extended between two and three miles in length. At length a body of our troops advanced, and attacked the Enemy's force posted in the village of Pollibose, and drove them from it. They now began to draw off their Guns and their whole line seemed preparing to retreat. The troops of our left began to form a line in a field Paddy yet the ground was so intersected by Banks and hollow ways, that it was near 4 O'clock when they were formed, when we were ordered to quit our Post and join them. The Enemy cannonaded us very smartly as we were advancing to our station in the Line, but as soon as our Line began advancing they never fired another shot. They retreated over a rising ground in front: we pursued them as fast as we could, but the Bushes and unevenness of the ground made it difficult to keep our Line close. When we reached the top of the rising ground the Enemy's rear were out of cannon shot, and it being just Sun set, and our right wing being unable to pursue the Enemy on account of Boggy ground between them, so that we were two or three miles distant from them, we halted and lay on our arms all night. When the Shot had done flying round me my stomach began to call loudly for victuals, an officer of our Battalion drew his sword and I got a pioneer's axe with which we haggled off a quarter of one of Hyder's Bullocks, which our Shot had knocked down. Without staying to flay it, we made a fire, and broiled some beef on the coals and my cook boy coming up with a mess of rice, I made a hearty supper and lay down and dreamed we had taken Hyder prisoner. The next morning we marched back and joined the right wing which was encamped on the field of action. Our loss was very considerable. Brigadier General Stewart lost his leg, and Coll Brown lost his life, just on the left of our Battalion. Coll Brown lost his arm within sight of the same spot 20 years ago. Sir Eyre Coote's aid de champ was kill'd on the spot; and the Nabob of Arcot's son had a horse shot under him, close to the General. Yet on the whole we did not lose so many men as might have been expected from the position of the Enemy, and the length of the action. I have since heard that the Enemy's kill'd and wounded were between 6—7000, our loss did not exceed so many hundreds. Our Captain had a great piece taken from the brim of his hat by a cannon shot: and 4 or 5 shots grounded near enough to knock the sand over me. If we had had provisions for the army, so that we could have followed them, I make no doubt, from what I have since heard, that we should have taken most of their Guns the next day: but we had scarcely any rice in camp, and were obliged to return towards Madrass for a supply, after exerting every effort to carry rice for the army for as long a time as possible. In September we again marched to the Eastward. We had some trifling

skirmishes with the Enemy's detached parties of horse, but nothing of consequence happen'd till the 27th when our Brigade was ordered to march in front of our encampment: we formed and advanced towards a rock where a body of the Enemy were posted. They threw rockets and gave us a scattering fire of small arms ; after which they retired and we gained the height, from which we had a full prospect of Hyder's encampment on a rising ground about three miles distance, with a large plain of swampy ground between us. We halted till our Army came up and joined, when we marched along the height on which we were, till our Brigade which was the right of our army, was opposite the left of the Enemy's encampment. We had hitherto march'd in a parallel line to the Enemy without advancing nearer to them, and tho' we could see them forming yet part of their tents were still standing, and I believe Hyder did not believe we meant to attack him but as soon as the two armies were right opposite each other we faced to the left and advanced on to the charge.

Our Brigade wheeled to the left and kept advancing to turn the left of the Enemy's line. A hot cannonade now began from both sides, 4 or 5 pieces of their cannon were posted behind a Bank amongst some trees, from which they fired very hotly at our Brigade. A body of water in front hindered us from advancing further in that road, we were ordered to wheel to the right by Battns which brought us into such a position that the Enemy's line of fire rak'd the length of our Battalion, they saw our situation, and fired very smartly, but being at a considerable distance did but little damage. At length we got round the water, formed our Brigade, and advanced towards the Enemy ; upon which they retreated with such precipitation that they never fired another shot at us all day.

The ground was very uneven and in some places large bodies of water, so that they got their cannon off with great difficulty, and had not the same reason hindered us from advancing with a brass 18 pounders, with as much rapidity as we wished, I believe we could have taken all the Guns on the Enemy's left. During these transactions on their left, a large body of the Enemy's best Cavalry advanced to meet the left of our line, which they charged very fiercely, and some few of them got thro' the line by means of a small opening at one of our guns ; but they were not able to make the smallest impression on any of our Battalions, and were driven off with great slaughter leaving the ground strew'd with their men and horses. A general retreat ensued, and had it not been for the approach of night, which prevented us from pursuing them, a terrible slaughter must have followed. At Sunset our Brigade was near two miles in front of the rest of the line where we cannonaded the Enemy (who were running before us in a confused mob of men, horses, Elephants, Bullocks, and Camels) so warmly that the General advanced the whole Line with the utmost expedition to support us, thinking by the violence of our fire, that the Enemy had renewed the action. Night put an end to the cannonade before the Line came up to us, and we encamped on the ground where the Enemy were in the morning. We took one piece of cannon, and one stand of colours, and from the best accounts the Enemy lost in kill'd and wounded 1500 men, our loss which is hardly

credible did not exceed 20 men, but two of them were Europeans of our Brigade.

Want of provisions again prevented our following them. The next day we marched amongst the Hills into a country called the Pollams, from whence Hyder had drawn great quantities of provisions. Here we got plenty of fowls and sheep, with large quantities of rice. Oct 6th our Battn with five more were ordered on detachment under Lieutt Coll Owen. A violent purging which had troubled me for some time made me unable to go with the Battn and I was left in the grand camp. The 17th Coll Owen took 6 or 7000 head of cattle which were going to the Enemy, and sent them into camp. The 23rd we were suddenly alarmed with an account that Hyder's whole army had made a forced march of about 30 miles, and attacked Coll Owen who was lying 16 or 17 miles from us. The army immediately advanced to support him, but for the badness of the roads did not come up with him till after dark. On the approach of the Enemy Coll Owen had abandoned his baggage and began to retreat towards our camp ; he had a thick woody pass to come thro', where the Enemy attacked him on all sides, and pressed so hard on the rear, where our Battn was that they took a six pounder, but a company of European Grenadiers, who joined the detachment the day before, charged, and retook it, in doing which they had one man kill'd, and 17 wounded, out of 40. Close by the Gun they found my brave old Captain (Walker) lying dead, he being cut down taking it. Soon after this, the Enemy hearing of the march of our army, gave over the attack, and the detachment halted and dressed their wounded, when the advanced guard of the army came up to them. Our Battn suffer'd the most in this action ; we had about 70 men kill'd, wounded and taken.

(Note. Having fill'd up the chasm occasioned by the lost leaves with the above extract from one of his letters, we now revert to the original article which thus continues. W. E. Hickson.)

Oct 31st. our Brigade, and the Cavalry marched at 4 O'clock, we went thro' the Pass where Hyder attacked Coll Owen's detachment. The Pass is very woody, and the ground exceeding stoney, which rendered it absolutely impossible for even a grand division to form so that the Detachment was obliged to retreat by files, and Hyder's Horse and Rocket boys lin'd the woods on every side of them.

We encamped at the entrance of the pass about 11 O'clock at night, Nov 1st about 9 in the morning the advanced guard of the army came up to us ; they marched by us, and the Army and Baggage continued passing us till about 2 O'clock : they encamped three miles in front of us. About 3 O'clock our Brigade marched and took up its station in the Army. Nov. 2 the Army marched at 4 O'clock ; cross'd the river Poonee near which Coll Owen on the 17th ulto took the cattle going from Chittore to Arcot. We marched about 10 miles, where we halted at 11 O'clock till 3 in the afternoon, to get some water and victuals for the cattle, when we marched again about 6 miles thro' very woody & stoney ground and encamped near Mahwimon delgardum. A party of the Enemy's Horse had fired some houses, at a

distance on the left of our line of march, when seing the Army halt in the middle of the day, rode on to the ground where we encamped at night and were lying in the greatest security, some asleep, some cooking etc. when our advanced guard saw them, and charged after them : they rode off in the greatest confusion : we took about 20 Horses, and kill'd several men.

3rd marched at the same hour as Yesterday : we expected Hyder would have met us this day, and exerted his utmost to prevent our reaching Vellour, but we saw nothing of him, and about noon we encamped by Villaur. 4th Halted. 5th Coll Lang and the Grenadiers Compy of the 1st Battn 1st Regiment joined the army Villour.

Hyder had made several attempts on Villour and had actually made a breach in one of the Forts, on the rock, which commanded Villour. He attempted to carry it by storm three times in one night in January last but was beaten off with great slaughter. The garrison afterwards sallied out and spiked up his guns, which, with our army taking the field by the sea side obliged him to abandon the enterprize. In the afternoon of the 5th our army moved about 3 miles the same road we came ; saw some of the Enemy's Horse scattered on our right. 6th at 4 O'clock marched the same rout we came. The Enemy's Horse appeared in the rear : they threw some Rockets and our rear guard fir'd a few guns at them.

Encamped about noon, near the ground where we halted on the 2nd Inst. 7th Marched at 4 O'clock : turned to the left of our former rout, and at 10 encamped before Chittour. Two Battns immediately took possession of the Pettah. Got two 12 Pounders and two Hourtzers, upon a rock about 5 or 600 yds to the Southward of the Fort, which commanded the walls. 8th Captn Theabald, chief Enginer was kill'd by a musquet shot from the walls, about 2 O'clock in the morning, as he was reconnoitering the Fort : General Coote was slightly wounded. This eveng our Battn went down as a working party ; we carried Gabions & Fascines from a Tope on the left of our lines, and erected a Battery for two 18 pounders on the bank of a tank, on the Southwest of the Fort, at about 120 yds. distance. The Enemy kept an almost constant fire from small arms, Jingaul pieces, & sometimes Cannon all night, but all at random as they never discovered us.

9th a hot fire all day from the Battery, and rock, the wall of the Fort came down very fast. 10th the Fort surrenderd : left Capt La Motte with the 9th Carnatic Battn in Chittour. 16th the army marched by the left at Sunrise ; recrossed the Poonee at the same place we cross'd it the 2nd Inst. A Body of the Enemy's Horse appeared on our right ; they threw a great many rockets whilst we were crossing the river but did no damage ; we fir'd some 18 Pound shot which made them draw off. About 4 O'clock encamped at the head of the Dewallam Pettah Pass near which Coll Owen's detachment laid : this day Lieutt Innes was wounded. 17th in the forenoon the army began its march thro' the pass, from the left, our right came to the old encamping ground, near Polly hill about 11 at night. 18th in the morning heard heavy Guns firing at a distance ; the army marched by the left about 8 O'clock in the morning ; left the road to Athamancherry by which we came

on our right. Encamped at Naggarry about 3 in the afternoon, our Battn was the rear guard, & was ordered to be joined by the 18th Battn which was left under Captn Temple at Poly hill with the baggage etc. when the army marched from Villour. A large body of the Enemy had surprised him on the 10th while we were at Chittaur, and taken 2 six pounders attached to the Battalion, with the field piece we took from the Enemy the 27th Septr and a large quantity of Baggage. The Battn retreated with the rest to a pass in Pollans where they had collected a large quantity of grain. It rained excessive hard: Captn Temple did not join us till 7 O'clock at night. The cattle were so excessively tired, and the night so dark that Coll Owen who commanded the regiment Grenadiers judged it absolutely impossible for us to follow the army till daylight. We lay on the ground till day break of the 20th, when we joined the army in the Morning which was encamped about 4 miles from Naggary. The heavy rain, bad roads, and weakness of the cattle obliged us to drop great quantities of rice on the road. 21st. marched at Sunrise: came into our old road near Neddamburram ; crossed the river and encamped on the banks of it, about 4 miles from Trepasore ; being a march of 14 miles. The rear of the Line did not come up before midnight, nor great quantities of the baggage till next day. 23rd the army marched and encamped at Cockalore plain, about 3 miles from Trepasore on the Madrass roads. A detachment of the Enemy's retook the Fort of Pollnore, whilst our army was at Chittour and took 3 iron 18 Pounders which we left there. On the 12th Tippoo Sahib and Lally with a large body of troops came before Trepasore: they carried on approaches towards the Fort with great expedition and the 18th in the morning opened a Battery of 2 18 and two 24 ponders against the curtain wall of the East face of the Fort. They made a considerable breach the same day, but the heavy rain that fell at night and the approach of our army, made them raise the Seige ; they drew off their guns in the night of the 18th and quitted their camp. Our lascars Billdars, and Pioneers employed in filling up the Enemy's trenches repairing the breach in the Fort etc. 23rd fired a salute for the capture of Negapatam. 30th the army marched at Sunrise, encamped at 4 in the afternoon at Pondamabe ; left the 16th & 17 Carnatic Battalion at Trepasore. Dec 3rd the army marched into cantonments. The 1st Battn at St. Thomas's ; artillery Park, & 4th Battn Choultry Plain, 2nd Brigade Vipery ; 3rd and 5th Brigade St. Thomas's Mount ; left the 4th & 21st Carnatic Battn at Pandamabe. 10th to my great surprise received a letter from my Brother in London ; who had got intelligence of my coming to India by a young woman's accidentally falling into discourse with the waterman who had been so kind to me on my first enlisting. Dec 29th the army marched from their cantonments and formed a camp on Mamelow plain. Every means being used to carry as large a quantity of rice as possible by allowing only 2 private tents to a Company of Europeans, and in proportion to the other Coops, and employing the Bullocks to carry grain for the garrison at Vellore. Jan. 2nd 1782 marched from Mamelow, encamped at Villout. 3rd marched at 10 O'clock in the forenoon and encamped about 4 on the west face of Trepasore 4 & 5th halted, on account of the commander in chief being dangerously ill, Jan 6th marched

at Sunrise, encampd about 1 O'clock about two miles to the westward of our encampment on the 21st Septr at Neddamburram. Jany 7th marched at Sunrise, encamped at Tretany about 2 O'clock, a small distance to the Northward of our encampment near Pollnore, the 23rd Sept, leaving our old rout on our left. Saw some parties of Horse, our rear fir'd a few shot at them.

8th Marched at Sunrise, a body of Horse appeared on our Flanks, and threw rockets. 5 or 6000 Horse drew up seemingly with a design to oppose our entering Shollingurn Pass but retird on our advanced guard firing a few shots. Marched thro' the pass, and encamped on the ground we lay on the 28th Septr. 9th marched at Sunrise, crossed the Poonee 5 or 6 miles to the Southward of where we crossed it the 16th Novr. A large body of Horse drew up on a rising ground to the Westward of the river, but retired after receiving a few cannon shot from the front of our line. Saw the Enemy's Camp about 3 miles in front who struck their tents & marched towards Arcott as we came in sight.

Encamped about 4 O'clock on the rising ground near the river. 10th Marched at Sunrise ; saw clouds of dust in the rear from the motion of the enemy. About 10 O'clock they attacked the rear of our line, as they were crossing a swampy valley, a very smart cannonade ensued. The ground was very rocky and large bodies of water between the rocks, which made it impossible for us to form a regular line. Between 11 and 12 the line moved to the left, to prevent the Enemy extending their line that way. Large bodies of Horse on this made a motion towards a valley on the right. Their principle design seemed to be against our grain and baggage : our Battn and two more were ordered to form up the valley to our right of the line of march which we did. The army now occupied so many different parts to the right and left of the road that the Enemy found it impossible to pass away troops to attack our Baggage etc. which was entirely in front of the Line. A very smart cannonade continued till past three O'clock, when the Enemy drew off their guns, and gave over the attack. The line then moved on, not having lost a single bullock or bag of rice. We received no interruption the rest of the afternoon, soon after Sunset encamped about 4 mils from Nellore. Our loss in kill'd and wounded amounted to near 100 men, of whom one Lieutt of European Grenadiers (Greenwell) was kill'd an artillery officer (Ruth bridge) and one of the Cavalry wounded, one private kill'd and three wounded, were all the Europeans.

Hyder had cut passages through the banks of a large tank and by that means swamped the ground where he purposes to attack us. 11th moved to the ground we encamped on the 3d Novr sent all the grain etc. into Vellore. 12th halted, 13th March'd at Sunrise by our left. When we were about 6 miles from Villour the Enemy Horse came upon our rear ; they threw vast quantity of rockets at our line, but did very little damage. Hyder's army was drawn upon a rising ground on the right of the Swamp where he attackd our rear on the 10th. His cannon were posted in the intervals of his line ready to open on us we passed. A lare body of water between us made it impossible for us to advance nearer his line, so that we had no option,

but to march thro' the fire of the artillery of his whole line or endeavour to drive them off by our cannon where we were: the latter, considering the advantages of the Ground, and superior weight of metal of the Enemy, would (if not absolutely impracticable) have exposed our army to greater danger than the former. Accordingly we clapped the Sepoys to the drag ropes, as the guns came to the Swamp, and ran on as fast as possible. At 11 O'clock just as the European corps got into the slough, the Enemy opened their Guns. We drew some of our Guns up on the most advantageous ground, and returned their fire. After the army pass'd the Swamp our rout lay still within reach of the Enemy's shot; a range of rocks on our left prevented our passing any other road; they continued an excessive hot fire on us for about 3 miles. Between the body of water and a rock on our right was a spot of ground about a mile over, which was the only way by which we could approach the Enemy, or they came nearer to us. The Enemy, confident of our keeping on our march began to advance their guns by this way to pursue us; but our line suddenly facing to the right, and advancing rapidly towards them, threw them into great confusion, and their fire instantly ceased, they being in the utmost haste to retreat with their guns towards Arcot. By this time it was 4 O'clock and we had no hopes of being able to come up with them, however we pursued them till Sunset, with the heaviest fire I ever saw from our Line. Just before Sunset findg themselves safe, from our being unable to come up with them before dark, they halted, 2 or 3 Guns, and returned our fire for a few minutes, but did us no hurt. After the Sun went down we returned into the road, and encamped on the same ground as the 9th. 14th crossed the Ponee, and encamped on the East side of it. Our loss yesterday was very small, considering the length of time we were in their fire. Captn Lucas of the artillery kill'd, 4 European killed, and two wounded. The Enemy had 4,6,12,18, & 26 pounders in the field. 15th Marched: encamped very near the ground where our army formed the 27th September. 16th Intelligence being received that the Enemy had moved a large body of troops, with artillery, on our right, and that they were encamped within a few miles of us, the army marched off at day break in two columns in hopes to bring them to action, leaving the Baggage under the protection of two Battns (of which ours was one) and a Regt of Cavalry.

The Enemy retiring behind low, wet ground, about 3 O'clock in the afternoon an order was sent for the baggage to follow the army. No sooner had we left the rock (Shollingar) where we were posted, but the Enemy began to throw rockets at us, and a little before Sunset, brought two pieces of cannon to a rock in our rear, from which they cannonaded us until dark, but without any effect. We had three men of our Battn wounded by their rockets. Encamped about 3 miles to the westward of Tretany. 17th marched at Sun rise: encamped near Neddamburra; saw no Enemy. 18th marched at Sun-rise: encamped on the west side of Trepasore. 19th marched and encamped on Cockalore plain. 20th Marched encamped at Villout. 22nd our Battn was detached to a post, half way between Pandamabe and Madrass; for the protection of people passing to and from camp. During the time we were in Cantonments Hyder retook Chittour, and made Luttole, and the 9th Battn

prisoners. Whilst the army lay at Villout we received intellegence that the garrison of Tillichery, being re-inforced by some king's troops, which were landed from on board the Ships just arrived from Europe had sallied out and stormed Hyder's camp before that place, had taken the general prisoner, with a great number of men, with all his cannon, stores, etc. A vessel arrived from Madrass with an account of the capture of Trincomalee by the Squadron under Admiral Hughe's Squadron (9 sail) continued at Anchor under cover of the Fort. Soon after the French fleet weighed again and fell down to the Southward, intending as we suppcsed to land troops at Pondicherry. In the evening Admiral Hughes weighed and stood after them. At Sunset both flats were very near each other, about 8 or 10 miles South of Madrass. 16th at about 8 o'clock at night heard a great deal of firing at sea, to the Southward. 17th about 4 in the afternoon, heard a great quantity of firing at a great distance. 19th a large French vessel was sent into Madrass by our fleet with troops on board. 22nd a detachment of three Battns of which ours was one marched a little before Sunset, to escort grain etc. to Chingleput, where we arrived at Gunfire in the morning. 24th marched from Chingleput about 5 in the afternoon. About two o clock in the morning a party of the Enemy attacked the rear, threw a few rockets, and carried off a great many Bullocks. We arrived in camp, at Sunrise of the 25th Major Bym (Byin?) who commanded the detachment, was tried by court martial and cashiered for neglect of duty in not protecting the convoy under his charge ; we lost between three and four thousand Bullocks. 25th heard that a body of the Enemy had surprised a party of our troops to the Southward, and taken Col. Braithwaite prisoner. March 7th at 9 o'clock at night a party of 100 Europeans and 4 Battns of Sepoys of which ours was one, marched with an intention to Surprise a party of the Enemy's Horse, consisting of 3 or 4,000, who were lying about 2 miles to the right of Chingleput road, opposite General Smith's Choulty. As the night was dark and we took a circuit round the hills where there was no road it was very bad marching, and if we had had any Guns it would have been absolutely impossible to have got along.

At day break we came on to their camp, but they had got intellegence of our coming a little before and were getting away as fast as possible ; however we exchanged a good deal of musquetry, and they went off in great confusion, leaving a good many Bullocks and horses, and a good deal of Baggage behind them, with some grain. Soon after sunrise the General came up to us with the Cavalry, and some more troops : he pursued them awhile, and then returned, and lay on their ground till 3 in the afternoon when we marched back to camp. March 5th Admiral Hughes with the fleet came into Madrass roads to land their sick, wounded, and prisoners, refit the ships and get a fresh supply of ammunition etc. They being a good deal shattered in the action with the French fleet, particularly the Exeter. We took 3 sail of transports from the French, but no fighting ships were taken on either side. March 31st two sail of Indiamen arrived from Europe : they were convoyed by some Ships of War which joined Hughe's fleet as soon as they had seen them safe in the roads. The fleet left the roads two days before. The 78th regiment of foot arrived on board these Ships. April 10th the army marched

about 8 miles on the Chingleput road: encamped at Jaumaurim. The 11th marched, turned to the right of the road and encamped near the place where the Enemy lay on the 7th. Saw bodies of the Enemy's horse in front both days. 12th halted. 13th marched about 7 miles, and encamped at Vaderapett, 14th, 15th and 16th halted: showery weather. 17th marched: encamped on the north bank of the river near Chingleput. 20th in the evening a detachment of the 2nd Battn of Sepoys marched for the mount. 25th intellegence being received that a body of the Enemy had moved down towards to mount, a detachment of two regiments of Cavalry, and a Battn of Sepoys, marched to meet the Escort returning from the mount. Ap 26th Hyder's whole army being in motion the army marched at 5 o'clock in the afternoon to support the Escort in case of their being attacked. All the baggage we left at Chingleput under the charge of our Battn all the carriage and bullocks being gone to Madrass; we employed all night, with what conveyance we could get, removing rice under cover of Chingleput Guns. April 27th Capt. Clarke received a Chit to acquaint him that the army was returning, Hyder having altered his course as soon as he heard our army was in motion ; the army came in soon after, never having joined the escort.

April 28th the escort arrived safe ; the 78th regiment of foot and the 2nd Battn Sepoys from trepasore joined the army with them. The weather being excessive hot, and the 78th regt having been a long while at sea, and unaccustomed to a hot climate about 20 of them died on the mulch from the mount to the army. Serjeant Condon as he was returning to Madrass with some coolies, who came with our Escort, was taken prisoner by some of the Enemy's Lootys ; Captn Bate was taken prisoner with the party. May 4th crossed the river and encamped on the South side. 8th recrossed the river, marched, and encamped at Vedacapett. 9th marched, and encamped at Manimuugulum. 10th Marched, and encamped at Tamourani. While we lay by Chingleput a large body of the Enemy with Cannon attacked the Gardens, Houses, and outposts round Madrass, but were beaten off from every attack, and several of them taken prisoners. The French landed a body of troops at Porta Nova, after the action at sea in March, with which they reduced Cuddalore : the Europeans were all sent to Madrass, agreeable to the terms of the Capitulation. Heard that there had been an obstinate and bloody engagement, between the two fleets, off the Island of Ceylon. May 14th several indiamen bound for Bengal were detached, and fitted up as men of war to join the fleet, at Trinconiallee, when they were detained by refitting after the action. May 16th having got large quantities of grain from Madrass, the 2nd Brigade, 78th Regt, and a regiment of Cavalry, marched, and encamped by Genl Smith's Choutry. This march we found the body of one of the 78th Regt who had been lost, and died on the road when that corps joined the army, his firelock was lying by him. 17th the detachment marched, and encamped at Chinior macoil ; when the rest of the army joined us, about two hours after. A fall of rain in the night prevented our marching the next morning. 18th and 19th heavy showers of rain. 20th marched by Chingleton, and encamped on the South bank of the river. 21st marched and

encamped at Carrangooly. 22nd halted. 23rd march'd and encamped at Aveetiamungulum.

24th marched to Wandewash, encamped on the ground where the decisive action with the French was fought on the 22nd January 1760 ; in commemoration of which the Genl ordered an extra dram and biscuits to the Europeans, and a day's Batta to the black troops.

25th marched and encamped about two miles to the Southward of Wandewash. 26th halted. 27th marched about 6 miles to the Southward, encamped at Tyar. The advanced guard fired two or three shots at a body of the Enemy's Cavalry who were throwing rockets at the Line. Saw some houses repaired and inhabited, and here and there a spot of ground cultivated. 28th Marched about six miles further South. The Enemy rocketed our advanced guard, but did no damage. Encamped at Carampanoum. 29th The army was ordered to march before daybreak, but after the assembly had beat, and the advanced guard had marched off the order was countermanded. 30th Marched to the right : turned to the Westward, and encamped at Dessore, a small mud fort which had been dismantled. Took a large quantity of cattle within a little way of the fort. Our Battn was ordered on duty in the Pettah, found great quantities of Paddy, buried in the houses, but in the after noon, as they were digging in the Bramin's Street, one of the Bramins set fire to a house which spread, and destroyed most of the Pettah. 31st Marched, and encamped at Chittepet. June 1st marched towards Arnee, crossed the bed of a small river, and encamp'd on the north side of it near Vancmunguoum June 2nd the army was ordered to march by the left ; baggage on the left, at 4 in the morning but that order was counter manded, and the army marched by the right, baggage on the right. The Enemy began rocketing our rear guard before they got off their ground. Just as the General was directing the Quarr Master Genl where to pitch the camp, near Arnee, between 8 and 9 in the morning, Hyder began firing his heavy cannon, his whole army being come upon the rear. The General ordered the line to halt, and rode back ; soon after he sent to Major General Stewart, who cammanded the front line, to advance, as fast as possible, and take possession of a rising ground in front. The Enemy began to extend themselves on our right flank, and all the baggage being there the line was forced to halt, to let it pass to the left, which was no sooner done than the Fort of Arnee began firing and threw their shot in amongst them. The Line was now ordered to the right about, and all our Brigade and the 17th Carnatic Battn with the Cavalry left for a Baggage Guard. The Enemy made a motion as if they intended forming to the Eastward of us, towards Wandewash : our line drew up to oppose them in that direction, but it soon appeared that the Enemy main body was formed to the Southward, with Chittapet in their rear. Our front line made a motion to the right and formed to face the Enemy, when they halted for the rear line, whilst that was coming up the Enemy cannonaded very hot with 18 and 24 pounders whilst our Guns would not reach them. As soon as the Line was formed they advanced with an astounding rapidity, yet not so fast as the Enemy retreated.

We formed a square round the baggage and followed the Line which pursued the Enemy to the river : we crossed near Nanumungulum when they took a long brass six pounder field piece, five tumbrills and three carts laden with ammunition, The European Grenadiers and light infantry crossed the river but could not come up with the Enemy. A large body of Horse hovered about our rear, and threw rockets at the baggage, but did us no hurt. The army encamped at Sunset on their old ground, near Vavumungulum. We had very little loss ; three or four Europeans kill'd and six or eight wounded, the Commandant of the 4th Battn, and 30 or 40 Lascars etc. kill'd and wounded.

June 3rd halted, 4th marched, and encamped to the southward of Arnee. In the afternoon the Fort fired a good many shot at some of our parties. 5th Three Battns and all the Pioneers, Billdars, Lascars etc. were ordered for a working party.

Soon after they had begun to cut down trees etc. round the Fort, the Generale beat, and the whole was in readiness to move on intelligence being received that the Enemy was near.

Their army marched off towards Wandewash, and the tents were pitched again. Sixth the army marched (crossed the river) to a wall'd village, where the Enemy had a great quantity of cattle. Their army marched towards Arcott, and passed the head of our line, at a few miles distance. We took great quantities of cattle, and some paddy. 7th marched, crossed the river, and encamped at Tresalore where we found great numbers of cattle. 8th halted. About 4 in the after noon the Enemy brought a large body of Cavalry in our front, and surrounded the grand guard, consisting of about 60 Cavalry and 70 or 80 Infantry with two light three pounders, having first decoyed them by showing a small body, and keeping their main body concealed in the Topes, to a distance from their post which was on a ridge of ground about a mile and a half in front. They maintained a very smart fire about a quarter of an hour but were overpowered before any assistance could reach them, as the line was encamped on ground intersected with banks, and ditches, so as to make a movement very difficult. One European officer and about 20 men, with one stand of colours, and the two tumbrills made their escape, the other officer with the two guns and the rest of the guard were carried away, excepting those who were kill'd or desperately wounded who amounted to about 30. 9th marched, and encamped at Wandewash, where we lay till the 13th during which time all the Lascars, Coolies, Billdars etc. were employed in the Fort putting it in a state of defence. 13th marched, and encamped at Outramatore. 14th marched, and encamped at Sallivanck. 15th Encamped on the South side of the Pattiara over against Chingleput. 17th encamped near Chinni Permacoil. 18th Encamped at Tamourani. 19th encamped at the mount. 20th marched, and encamped at Valiampang, about 4 miles from Pondamalee on the Madrass side. 23rd fired a royal salute in consequence of a peace concluded between the Company and the Marattas, The 78th Regt ordered to Cantonments: on their march from Arni to the ground there were not 100 men of the regt able to march in the rank ; and the Europeans in general were very sickly. July 3 marched to Cundatore :

4th to Masumungulum. 5th halted. 6th marched to Tenary. As the army came to the ground a body of the Enemy's cavalry drew off. They threw three or four rockets. Lieutt. Dallars rode up to one of them and ordered him to dismount, which he refusing the Lieutt. cut off his left arm close to the shoulder and he died in a short time thro' loss of blood. Fired a royal salute on account of Admiral Hughe's victory off Negapatam. 10th marched to Sheverani. 16th to Marcumpaddy. 17th to Sree Namungulum. 18th to Wandewash. 22nd returned to Areehamungulum. 23rd Soramalore. 24th to Vedacapet. 25th Manimungulum. 27th to Conditore. Lay at Conditore till August 7th when we marched to Terrore. 8th crossed the river near Trepasore, and encamped at Ramanacherry. 9th marched and encamped to the eastward of Tretany, 10th marched thro' Shollingurr pass, and encamped to the westward. 11th Encamped at Malpaddy, on the same ground where lay on the 9th January. This day's march Serjt. Cherrington was lost, supposed to be taken by some Looty horse, who hovered about our rear. 12th Encamped near Vellore on our old ground. 14th in the evening, ours and the 17th Battn marched with the Pioneers, to destroy a Fort possessed by some Fakirs, on the Arcot Road, about 7 miles from Vellore called Callagurry. 15th the army marched: we fell into our place in the Line: encamped at Cheeare, the ground where we drew up on the 10th Jany where the Enemy attacked our rear. 16th encamped at Kerry Charree the ground where we lay the 14th Jany. 17th marched thro' Shollingur and encamped on the same ground on the 16th Jany. 18th encamped at Neddumburrat. 19th on Cockalore plain 20th on Villout. 21st between the mount and Conditore at Gurrumbancum. Admiral Hughes Squadron had just left the roads. 28th marched to Tamouram. 29th Halted. 30th to Chini Permacoil. 31st to the South bank of the Palliara, opposite Chingleput. Sept. 1st marched to Carangolly. 2nd to Achmedanke. 3rd halted. 4th to Tindavamum. 5th to Killinore. 6th on the red hills near Pandicherry. Here we lay waiting for the ships which were to bring cannon and stores, for attacking Cuddalore, till the 11th inst, daily making signals from the top of Major Steven's monument. During our stay General Coote was taken very ill, and the command devolved on General Stuart. The 11th inst a party of the Enemy's horse, about 60, came into us.

The same day on some intelligence being received giving room to doubt of the Ship's arrival, we suddenly marched off at two in the afternoon, and encamped the same night at Killinore. 12th at Tiriardavamum. 13th at Achmewante. 14th at Carrangolly. 15th on the South side of the Palliara. 16th Halted. 17th at Chini Permacoil. 18th Tamouram. 19th encamped near the mount, where we lay till the 28th ; when we changed ground to Tamourani, on account of Forage. Heard that the Ships arrived in Pondicherry roads the day after we left the red hills. Octr 15th changed ground about 3 miles nearer the sea to Pollicanny. The same night a violent storm of wind, and rain did great damage to the vessels in the roads. Sir Ed. Hughes stood out to sea with the fleet. Upwards of 100 vessels of different sizes were wrecked. 15000 bags of rice, and vast quantities of other provisions were lost, estimated at 3 months provision for the settlement. Genl Munro resigned. General Stuart was appointed Commander in Chief on the coast. Oct 18th the army

marched into cantonments ; our Battn stationd at Pondamalee. The same day Sir R. Pickerton arrived, and after seeing the convoy safe into the roads stood out to sea, it is supposed with an intention to join Admiral Hughes. Octr 30th the Bengal regt of European infantry, embarked on board the Warren Hastings, and Kent indiamen for Bengal. The 23rd regiment, (commanded by Major Genl Sir John Benjoyne) of dragoons, the 101st regt and part of the 102nd were landed at Madrass. October 18th a royal salute was fired at Fort St. George, on acct of Admiral Rodney's success in the West Indies.

We remained in cantonments until the close of the year. During this recess from action Hyder Ally died, near Arcott as generally reported of an imposthume in his back. The 2nd and 17th Carnatic Battns marched to the Northward soon after the army cantoned. Trincomalee surrendered to the french under the command of Monsr Souffrain on the 30th August. Jan 2nd 1783 the army assembled at the mount, under the command of Major General Steuart.

(Note. Here is another hiatus in the original manuscript occasioned by the lost leaves which containing merely dry details of their march renders it but of little importance. W. E. Hickson).

The Enemy's camp within sight from the top of the rock lying at Trivatour, the place where they cut off our grand guard. Feb. 12th the Enemy crossed the river and marched toward us. The same night we sprang some mines to demolish the works of Wanderwash : when by mistake of a Sergt of artillery a port fire was put to the Magazine instead of a mine which went off with an explosion which shook the earth for some miles ; by which accident about 40 people were kill'd and wounded. 13th the army marched at daybreak in the Morning. The Enemy's army was in motion at the same time, seeming with an intention to attack our rear, on the supposition that we were returning to Carangoolly but as soon as they found that we were advancing towards them they retreated and recrossed the river. The front of our line came near enough to fire several Cannon shot at some large bodies of the Enemy as they retreated. Encamped at Neddingull. 14th Retd to Wanderwash : our Battn had the rear guard this day, vast bodies of Horse pressed hard upon our rear, and threw a vast quantity of rockets, but did very little damage, about a dozen men were wounded by them. 15th Halted to complete the demolition of Wanderwash. 16th marched to Illampaddy : expected the Enemy on our rear, but they kept at a great distance. 17th marched to Carangoolly. 18th & 19th Halted, destroyed the fortifications of Carangooly. When the garrison of Carangooly joined the army I had a letter from my Brother, which one of the Serjeants had had near two years, thinking I was at Bombay. 20th march'd to the bank of the Paliari, near Chingleput. 21st marched to Nadacapett. 22nd to Manimungulum. 23rd to Cunditore or Cawoon. March 3rd marched to Terriore. The day very hot, great numbers of the 101st Regt, who stood the expedition to Wandewash beyond expectation, now dropt on the road, unable to proceed. This night the important news arrived that Genl Matthews had taken the Fort of Hyder Naggur the capital of the Bednure Country by storm the 30th Jany. 4th marched to

Ramanacherry ; fired a royal salute in consequence of the above Intellegence. 5 Halted. The following account was published in orders this day.

> "the Commander in chief having recd further particulars of Genl Matthew's successes has great pleasure in communicating the same to the Army. After taking ——— and Oriore, with upwards of 5000 of the Enemy kill'd & taken, and 4 ships of the Line built or building with a great number of smaller ships, he effected a landing at Condipore, and took it with a 64 Gun ship on the stocks there. Brigadier Genl Matthews next proceeded to the Gant, by an ascent of 7 miles, fortified judiciously by strong Barriers and Batteries, & Breast works, and two foots mounting 60 pieces of cannon of different Bores, defended by 1500 dismounted troopers, 1500 regular Sepoys and 1500 match lock men. He succeeded and carried the whole by his good conduct and the bravery of his troops. The Fort of Hyder Nagurr opened its gates without firing a gun, altho' it has 70 pieces of Cannon with an infinity of military and other stores. Genl. Matthews has released 3 Battns of Sepoys taken in Coll Baillie's action and elsewhere."

6th marched to Chini Arcaut near Neddumburra. 7th encamped between Trittany and Shollingur, heard this day that Tippoo was marching towards the Changamah Pass.

8th marched to the Shollingur Pass. 9th marched to Cheear. 10th to Villour. 11th halted : the 14th Battn marched into Vellour and the 5th join'd the army 12th marched to Lallpett, sent a detachment into Arcot, which the Enemy had abandoned some days before, after springing some mines in the Citadal wall, which damaged part of the South & East side of the Fort. 13th halted : sent some Bullocks to Vellour with grain found in Arcott. 14th Marched and encamped near Covenpank. 15th encamped at Ballibose. 16th marched between the villages of Ballibose Trincolm and encamped at Parabamum. 17th at Cockalore plain. 18th at Villout, 19th halted 20th near the mount. 25th Saw 2 line of battle ships and two Frigates under sail in Shore a little to the Southward of our encampment, and a Snow at anchor opposite the Camp. The Snow weighed anchor about 8 O'clock and stood to the Northward, she was pursued into Madrass roads by the Ships who fir'd a great many shot at her and some into a Danish vessel which was lying in the roads. They proved to be French vessels which had brought a re-inforcement to Cuddalore. A large dutch ship which had been cut out of Cuddalore roads by the Medea frigate, standing close in to get under cover of the Guns of the Fort ran a ground and could not be got off. The Medea Frigate was in the roads at the time and seeing the Ships did not answer her signals she weighed and stood to the Northd, the Enemy pursued her, but she was presently out of sight, and got clear off. Apart 4th fir'd a Salute for the Capture of Mangalore on the 9th of March.

13th Admiral Hughes with his Squadron arrived at Madrass. 16th 12 sail of Indiamen and transports, conveyed by a 50 Gun Ship arrived at Madras. A few days after their arrival the Duke of Athol, indiaman by some accident

took fire and burnt all night, the next day she fir'd guns as Signals of Distress, and just as the mess of War's boats got round her she blew up by which accident great numbers perished. During our stay here detachments were continually going with rice to Chingleput, April 19th the 5th Brigade, and one regt. of Cavalry marched. 20th a detachment of 200 Hanoverians joined the army. 21st The army marched to Chini Permacoil. 22nd to the Southd Bank of Paliari. 24th the 4th Brigade and one Regt. of Cavalry with the army's rice and battering train marched. 26th the 3rd Brigade, with one regt of Cavalry marched. 28th heard of Sir Eyre Cotte's death at Madras. 30th the remainder of the Army marched to Madrantium, where the 3rd Brigade was encamped.

May 1st marched to Ackerewanke (leaving the 3rd Brigade) where we joined the 4th & 5th Brigade except 2 Battns. who were at Permacoil, which the Enemy had distroyed and abandoned. May 2nd marched to Permacoil except the Europeans and 2nd Brigade, which encamped about half way: the Europeans being so fatigued with the heat as to be unable to proceed any further. 3rd joined the army at Permacoil. Lay here till the 16th, repaired the Fortifications, and left the 4 Battns., except the Grenadier's Company to garrison it. 16th marched to Killinore.

The 20th Battn marched to the sea side to Coryenier, where the active Frigate and Resolution were arrived from Bengal with 100 European artillery, and rice for the Army.

The Looty Horse began to hover round the encampment. May 28th the army marched to Nellinore. The 5th & 20th Battns to Pondicherry. The Grenadiers of the 4th Battn with two 6 Pounders were left at Killinore with rice which was landed from the Resolution and ported them in a Pagoda. 30th the 3rd Brigade, with one Regt of Cavalry, marched to Killinore, and brought the rice left there to camp. June 2nd the army marched to Shingercoil, leaving the Grenadiers of the 4th Battn. at Villinore Pagoda with rice. June 3rd marched to Manambodie. 4th the 4th Brigade, with one regt of Cavalry marched to Villinore, and exorted the rice to camp.

The Enemy's horse lay so close to our Camp that they threw stones at our out sentries in the night. Saw the French camp the East ward.

This day the water came down the Paniar river, on the N. Bank of which we lay, and raised the river near three feet perpendicular in a few hours occasioned by the periodicall rains above the Ghaats. 5th halted. 6th March'd to Trenanagoody. 7th march'd to the Eastward till we came into the roads that lead to Cuddalore from Tritchanopoly, when we turned to the Northward and came down to the bound hedge of Cuddalore so unexpected by the Enemy that several of the Gentlemen and others at the head of the advanced Guard were in their Bazaar before the Enemy discovered them. Had the whole of the advanced Guard marched on we should have in all probability got possession of the bound hedge with a very trifling loss but Lieutt. Coll. Cathcart ordered the Battn. to halt, and only one Regt. (without guns) of Cavalry to advance which was soon driven back by the Enemy's Guns posted behind a sand bank.

Encamped about 3 miles to the Southward of Cuddalore in two lines, the right of the first line reaching to an arm of the Sea which runs up from Cuddalore parallel with the shore, being only parted from the Ocean by a long sand Bank. The rear line about 900 yds. in the rear of the first ; the left of which extended to a rising ground, and thick jungle near Bandipallam. There were eight vessels at anchor.

(Note. Here is another sheet lost here. The army lay there till the 13th, without in any way incommoding the French who were endefatigably employed in erecting Batteries, Redoubts, etc. by which the English threw away all the advantage they had gained by coming to the Southward instead of attacking them on the North side, where they were strongly fortified. At last dispositions were made for attacking the French works.—W. E. Hickson)

On the 13th the attack began a little before Sunrise by the firing of the 18 pounders from the Ports on the Hill : we could hear the French drums beat to arms. The Ports of the Enemy's most advanced on the left were soon carried, by Col. Kelly, in the 4 Brigade, and the Grenadiers. The right and centre then advanced towards the Enemy's works. The right halted in a Palmyre Tope about a mile from their works, and began to cannonade which was returned from three Batteries of the Enemy with so much advantage that we were forced to draw back our Guns, and take the best position we could for the security of our troops, as it was not intended to assault the Enemy's woorks on this quarter, but only to divide their attention and draw off : part of their force from their principal Port, which was a Redoubt in the centre of their Works, on a commanding ground, with plenty of Cannon and flank'd by other Posts in the rear. The centre division of the Army reinforced by the Hanoverians (the 16th Regt. having landed some days before) advanced to the muzzles of their Guns and were so warmly Received by the Enemy that the 101 Regt. gave way just as they entering their Works : this occasioned some confusion in the other troops, and the other troops, and the whole retreated. The French advanced from their Works to pursue them but the Grenadiers with the 4th Brigade having succeeded on the left, and coming up on the rear of the French in the critical minute, they were obliged to give way in their turn, and our troops got possession of their principal Redoubt, tho' with very great loss. The Enemy retreated in good order, coming to the right about several times, and firing at our troops who were pursuing them. Our troops afterwards pushed on and got possession of another work nearer the Fort in which were 9 Guns, but were so much exposed to the fire of the Enemy from their other works that they were obliged to abandon it ; and the Enemy drew off their Guns from it, and all their other supports in tthe night and retired into the Fort.

During the action Admiral Hughes with his Squadron came down from Ports Nova, where he had been watering and anchored opposite the landing place and Monsr. Sufferien with the French fleet was discovered in the offing, hovering on and off.

(Note. Here another leaf is wanting: the reader will refer to a letter to Mr. Sutton at the back of his Book for the continuation the details from the letter are added. W. E. Hickson).

During the action Sir Ed. Hughes who had been watering the Squadron at Porta Nova, came down and anchor'd opposite the camp. We went immediately to work to turn the French redoubts and intrenchments to serve for our approaches to the place. Not the least doubt was entertained but that the whole French force in India would have fallen into our hands but we soon saw a reverse which excited the highest degree of shame in every Englishman's heart and reflected disgrace on the British arms. It is a tender point to speak on, and I do not pretend to any knowledge in Maritime affairs ; but the facts are stubborn things. How the Gazette may tell the Story I do not know but the truth was this : the Admiral's duty at this time (I think) was confined to two points, viz. to protect the landing of stores, and provision for our army, and to prevent any relief from being thrown into the Fort. To effect this he had such a squadron that I believe never appeared in these seas before. How well he performed it let himself tell. The 16th at noon the French squadron consisting of 14 ships of the line, 4 Frigates, and a fire ship appeared to the Eastward towards the shore. Having the advantage of a sea breeze our Fleet weighed and stood towards them ; next morning no appearance of either. About noon the French fleet appear'd opposite again to the East : there was but little wind, so that they were almost all the afternoon in getting into Cuddalore roads, where they anchored. No appearance of Huges. The 18th in the morning saw our Fleet a long way out at sea. The boats had been passing and repassing all night between the French fleet and the Fort. Soon after our fleet appeard the French got their Squadron under weigh and stood out towards ours : they were manuvering all day. The next morning (the 19th) the French Fleet was close in off Cuddalore, no appearance of ours. The 20th both Fleets were out of sight : about noon the French appeard in the offing and soon after ours at a very great distance. About 5 O'clock we could see the Smoke rising from them, but at so great a distance that we could not hear the Guns, and but just discover the Ships. 21st no appearance of either Fleets. We continued running a covered way at about 700 yds. distance from the Fort, without any interruption ; and could see them busily employed in raising their Glacies, and putting the place in as good a posture of defence as possible. Our parties work'd within musquet shot of the Enemy, but no molestation on either side. We took 16 pieces of Cannon in the French Works on the 13th, 3 of which were English three Pounders, which they had taken in a Ship going to the Southward. Among the prisoners was Bussy's Son who was wounded in the thigh. 22nd no appearance of the Fleet which we thought the more remarkable as the sea breeze blew strong, which it had not done since the 16th. In the evening saw a large French vessel close in shore to the Northward. 23rd in the morning we saw this vessel at anchor off Cuddalore, and the whole French Fleet off Fort St. David. They worked up and anchored off Cuddalore, all but one ship which came and anchored opposite our camp. 24. No appear

ance of our Fleet. The French fleet remain in the same position except that another Ship came and anchor'd off our Camp. Great numbers of boats passing and repassing between their Fleet and the Fort. They bore some marks of having been in action as they had lost two top masts and two or three top gallant masts.

25th about three in the morning the French (to the amount of 2000 Europeans and 600 Sepoys as reported) sallied out upon our works. They got close to the trench before they were perceived, and a part of them passed the Parapet and formed within the works, while another body of them passed round the right of the Trench, but they were so warmly Recd by the 24th Regt of Bengal Sepoys, who were on duty in the trenches, and the outlying picquets coming up to attack them, that they were forced to retire, with great loss.

We took upwards of 100 prisoners (most of them wounded) among whom was the Coll who commanded them ; great numbers were killed in the retreat. We took 500 stand of arms. On one side the loss was very small.

Major Catgrave who commanded the outlying Pickets was kill'd and Lt Grubler who commanded in the 20 Regt with 5 or 6 Privates. Captn Williamson who commanded the 24th Regt was wounded, and another officer wounded and missing. The 20th Regt lost 2 stand of colours. No appearance of our Fleet. 26th. This morning we fired some shot from our field pieces at the working parties of the French, which made them withdraw immediately within their Works. The Enemy returned us two shot for one in the course of the day: we recd no damage. 27th no appearance of our fleet. We exchanged now and then a shot with the Enemy in the course of the day. 28th no further progress in our works for some time past. Rice grows very short in camp. 28th just before dark saw a vessel standing in from the Eastward ; the French vessels gave chase, when it stood to the North'd. 30th in the morning saw the vessel which the French chased over night at anchor in the middle of the French Fleet with any English Ensign flying at her stern, and a French Jack at her masthead, by which we took her for a flag of truce. This revived the report of a Peace which had been some time (2 months) prevalent in Camp. July 2nd Mr. Sadler 2nd in Council, and Mr. Stanton Governor's secretary came out of Cuddalore to the General, with the news of their having agreed to a cessation of arms with the French, which was accordingly accomplished. Genl Steward ordered to Madras and Genl Bruce to take the Command. 3rd the English vessel sailed for Madras. 14th Genl Stuart embarked for Madras. July 22nd a detachment was formed under the Command of Coll Stewart to march to the Southward consisting of the 78 Regt, a detachment of 210 rank and file, with a detachment of officers from the Hanoverians. The Madras European Infantry, the 6th Grenadier corps of the Tritchanoply detachment. The 16th and 21 Battns with two 18 Pounders, two 12 lbs. and 4, 6 Pounders.

The 2nd, the army marched under the command of Coll Gordon ; Genl Bruce having gone on board for the recovery of his health.

Encampd at Bawon the N. W. of Cuddalore.

Aug 3rd halted. 4th marched to the red hills. 5th halted. 6th marched to Killinore, 7th to Tirudivanum. 10th to the South bank of the Polliar near Chingleput. 15th a detachment under Lt. Coll Elphinstone, consisting of a detachment of the 101st and Hanoverians equal to 471 ranks and file, with the 8n. & 15n. Battns marched to Madurankium to join the Southern army. The remainder of the army marched at the same timè towards Madras. 16th the detachment march'd to Perrumbere a little to the Southward of Ackery wanke. 17th to Permacoil. 18th to Killinore, 19th marched to the left of the red hills and marched on the South bank of the river that runs by Waldowe. 30 or 40 of the Enemy's Horse left Waldowe just as our advanced guard approached it. Here is a ruined Fort which has had a French and Glacis, at present it is placed within the walls.

The village inhabited, the Horse not molesting the country people. 20th crossed the Paniar river, near a village call'd Rumbaucane, encamped about 3 miles N of Trividy. A great deal of land cultivated and inhabitants in the villages ; a long march. 21st marched thro' Friday and encamped about 2 miles from it, on the South bank of the Goodalum. The Hircarrers informing the Coll that if he marched further he had a Jungle 10 or 12 miles thro' without water. A party of the Enemy had lately quitted Trividy, great numbers of dead horses lying on the ground, 22nd passed the Jungle by a road which Hyder had cut. Encamped at Nancatumpett. But one tank, and the water of that very bad. No inhabitants, the country entirely desolate. 23rd marched by Bowangurry, crossed the river and encamped about 4 miles N. West of Chittenbowin. 20 halted, 25 marched to Shaddy Tope, encamped at the end of a large gut of water from the Coleroon. 26th marched to Nattamungulum, encamped by the side of another large body of water from the Coleroon. 27th march'd thro' a very thick Jungle, where were some Polygar guards, encampd at Gundacundepocane by a large Pagoda, of a particular construction.

A great many Inhabitants in the different villages in the Pollams, and plenty of cattle. 28th marched thro' a thick Jungle to the banks of the Coleroon, the waters of which were falling a great pace, as we could discover by the banks. Came into the road yesterday that Coll Stewarts detachment had took, and continued on it. 29th marched to Tootoor. 30th to Tiwonganour. The Gutts from the Coleroon being very full and the ground being of a clayey soil, made it excessive bad marching, more particularly it being showery weather. 31st marched about 4 miles to Trimur waddy, a large Pagoda on the banks of the Coleroon where some grain and cattle for the detacht was come over from Tanjour. Sept 1st marched to Poaloor and to Pittrandywel, from whence the 15th Battn embarked on the 3rd in the morning and crossed over to the Island of Leringham. The Hanoverians cross'd the same day. 4th the 101st artillery and our Battalion crossed the river. 5th crossed the Caveri and encamped under the walls of Tritchanopoly or the Madura face. 7th marched about 3 miles, and encamped at the fine rocks S. W. of the Fort. 8th a 20 Pounder, two 12 lbs, 2 6 lbs and some Howitzes joined the detachment. 10th marchd to Amapett. 11th to Manatam. 12th the detachment the march except our Battalion which halted. 13th our

Battn returned to Amapett. 14th to Tritchanopoly. 15th at 2 in the afternoon marched to Taomagoody. 16th near Vellum. 17th to Tanjour Remained at Tanjour till the 27th. In the mean time forwarded a large quantity of Shot etc. for camp. While we lay at Tanjourn heard that Genl Stuart had been dismissed and that Coll Lang was appointed Lt. General & Commander in chief.

The 27th we marched at 3 in the afternoon with 2 howitzers and a large quantity of stores and arrack. The Bullocks have been pressed in the country, and being unaccustomed to drawg. it was the noon of the 28th before the rear guard reached Vellum about 6 miles. 29th marched to Tringaiapetta. 30th to Touragoody. Octr 1st to Tritchanopoly. 2nd & 3rd halted.

(*Note. The original manuscript ends here. When its author arrived in England it was perfect, and was carried up to the time when he sailed from the East Indies, but all the leaves which follow in this place are lost. What is now inserted on the next pages consists partly of extracts from his letters to his Brother and some other particulars collected verbally from him. W. E. Hickson*).

The 10th day they came to Dindegull and found the Army gone to the Westward. Came up with the army on the 20th and continued marching to the Westward. After various difficulties in cutting their way through the almost impenetrable jungle, or forest, of Anamully, nearly 20 miles through, the army arrived at the Fort of Palagatcherry on the 2nd of Novr. This fort mounted 29 Guns and was defended by a garrison of 400 men. On the 13th two heavy Batteries of 6 Guns each were opened one on the East, the other on the North face of the Fort, by which the Enemy's fire was soon silenced, and their defence destroyed. At night Capt Maitland with a party of the 4 flank Battns under his command, took advantage of a heavy rain to drive the beseiged from the Covert way. He was so fortunate as to succeed and pursued them within the first and as far as the second gateway ; there he was stopped, but maintained his ground with great spirit and ability until an addition of troops arrived. The enemy was so much alarmed by this mode of attack that they call'd out for quarter, and put us in possession of a Fort capable of making a long and desperate resistance. 50000 Pagodas were found in this place, besides a considerable stock of grain, powder, shot, and other military stores. A report of a peace being concluded with Tippoo very prevalent in Camp. After the reduction of Polygatcherry the army commanded by Coll Fullerton, fell back with the wood, but not by the same road, being more to the Northwd 24th the army cleared the wood, no sooner had we entered the plain but a body of the Enemy's Cavalry appeared in front. A party of them sculked behind some bushes and made a charge between the advanced Guard, and the head of our Line, where they kill'd and wounded some stragglers, and carried off one horse belonging to the Quarter Master Genl. Encamped before Combatoor, another of the Enemy's Forts. 26th a river runs between the Fort and the ground we encamped on the 24th marched about 5 miles down the river to a ford, there cross'd and came up again towards the Fort and shortly after took possession of it. Heard that the

Commander sent word to Coll Fullerton that Peace was absolutely concluded but that if he demanded the Fort he would surrender it without fighting. Dec 3. 2 of Tippoos Horsemen came in with a flag of truce, brought back our Quarter Master's horse : they said that Peace is concluded. On our march here the Enemy's horse hovered round but did not venture near. The Army had no sooner got to the East of the wood than the inhabitants all abandoned their villages ; they are now beginning to return to their Habitations. They had no idea of any other method of carrying on a war but the barbarous and destructive method which Hyder followed of burning and distroying ; now they find themselves protected in their persons and properties, and the country will soon be repeopled. 21st there is a commission gone from Madrass to Sermgapataum to conclude a peace with Tippo. 25th. Eight o clock at night I eat my Christmas dinner in the midst of a wood, at least 1000 times as large as Dedmansee : no mince pies, however I had some rice cakes and turtle doves cooked, under the shade of a large Ebony tree. A very sober Christmas, no liquors in camp except a small quantity which came from Cochin and that at the very moderate of 12 Pagodas per dozen. Jan 5th 1784 Captn Gibbings is promoted to Major, and Captn Dunwoody is appointed to our Battn ; he rejoined the army yesterday, so that I am satisfied the war is over and when we shall be ordered to garrison. 10th marched among the hills after a Polygar Rajah who has paid no tribute to Hyder these 4 years, and now we have the country will pay none to us. 11th we had a smart engagement with him in which we had about 60 people killed and wounded. 22nd lay some days at a village where the engagement took place ; the Enemy continually showing themselves on the mountains daring us to come up after them. There is a famous Pandarim residing on a rock near the plains to whom it is a point of religion, to send a young virgin every year, sometimes as far as from Tanjour and Tritchinopoly : by this means he has a large Seraglio, and after keeping them as long as he pleases, he sends them to beg about the country, the rest of their lives, and yet so infatuated are these poor wretches that they deem it the greatest honour. 16th marched to Cumbolum, a small fort to the Westward of Pilney. 17th collected rice in the adjacent country. The 1st and 19 Light Infantry arrived here from Polygatcherry which place we have abandoned. 20th our Battn received orders from the commander in chief to proceed to Madura with all possible expedition. Feb 1st yesterday we relieved the 10th Battn in Madura, so that at last I am in garrison again, after having been in the field since Jany 1780. On the 11th March a treaty of Pace was finally concluded and settled with Tippo Saib.

Note. The manuscript ends here but there are many more pages in the copy written by W. E. Hickson in 1820 of which the following are extracts.

"It is probable he did not remain long at Madura as his contracted time was more than elapsed and he was very anxious to return to England. ** * * "

"He set out for Madras on foot from which he was distant nearly 400 miles.

When Serjt Hickson arrived at Madrass he found himself likely to wait there sometime, as there were then no Ships about to sail for England : in

this case the Letter of recommendation which he carried (from his officers) with him proved of great service. The first situation he got into was as one of the writers in the Office of Town Major. He afterwards became the town Corporal ; a station, in which, had he been disposed to dishonesty he might have made considerable property, as the person who possessed it before him had drawn the pay of soldiers who had been dead 20 years or more and it took a long time before he could reduce the accounts to a just and equitable state.

Whilst at this town he got acquainted with a whimsical genius of the name of Robert Burn who some time afterwards wrote him several Letters from Madrass. Coll Sydenham offered him almost any situation he would chose either in the military, (even to an Officers commission) or the civil department if he thought proper to stay, but he was bent upon going, and no tempting offer could induce him to alter his resolution. Sir Ed. Hughes arriving at Madrass and intending to sail direct for England, Serjt H. resolved to go in his Ship. How long he was on the voyage is not known but he arrived in England on the 3rd May 1785, having been absent 7 years.

He brought with him the son of Coll Sydenham, whom his father had entrusted to him. For taking care of this youth during the voyage, and placing him safe at a school in England, he received an order on a house in London for 40 Guineas, besides which Coll Sydenham defrayed the expences of his passage home."

Some old unpublished documents of the French India Company from the Pondichery Archives.

TOWARDS the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, after the re-arrival of the French India Company for the second time in Chandernagore ; they tried their best to obtain permission for trade and to set up business and establish factories, and same privileges as the Dutch Company enjoys. For the establishment of their trade, they needed acquire lands, erect their own factories and get occasional help to defend themselves from the other European rival companies, especially the Dutch.

After strenuous efforts for several years, by writing, sending representatives, and by paying necessary presents to the ruling monarch of the land, they had been successful in obtaining the royal grants from the Great Moghul-Emperor Aurangzib, and his subordinate Nawabs of Bengal, and Dacca and by their Dewans.

The firmans, Parwanas and other titles thus obtained, as well as, all the title deeds and pattas of acquisition of the aldees or villages forming the colony of Chandernagore, after the seize and capitulation of Chandernagore in 1757, all came into the hands of the English in Cassimbazar, where they had been transferred and were never returned. The Pondichery archives has now got only the French translations of those documents.

For readers interested in the affairs of the early introduction and the settlement of the French in Bengal, the land where the fortunate Britons had the first taste of their subsequent glory and from whence their momentous march to Plassey took place baffling the dreams of the great Dupleix. I quote the exact English reproduction of the interesting documents supplied to me for my research work regarding the history of Chandernagore. (1)

29th May 1690
Chandernagore.

Parwana or letter of Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Dacca sealed with his own stamp written to M. Deslandes on the 20th of the month of Chaban in the 33rd year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb, which corresponds to 29th May 1690, date written in French on the back of the original and on several other copies.

I have read with great care the letter sent to me some days ago, on the plot of land bought by you in the aldee or village of Boroquichampur

(1) The spellings of the proper names are reproduced exactly as in the original.

for which I gave an order sealed with the stamp of the Cazi to your vakil concerning the house of the Englishman Dabisse which you hired from Mulla Abdulhady the owner of the said house. I have written a Parwana or letter to Mir Mahamad Anbar to forbid and prevent the Dutch from giving you tributes in the construction of the house so that you may build it safely and peacefully.

29th May, 1690. Chandernagore.

Another Parwana of the said Nawab written to the officers and clerks of the village of Boroquichampur, on the 20th of the month of Chaban in the 23rd year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which correspond with the 29th May 1690, date written in French on the back of the original.

A few days ago the Vakil of the French Company informed us that the Director of the said company had brought a piece of land of 61 Bighas in the village Boroquichampur and he has the patta or document of sale of the said piece of ground.

The Director of the said company while constructing a lodge in the said peace of land, the Dutch trouble him and prevented the success of his enterprise ; in consequence of the patta sealed by the Cazi and with the consent of the Dutch pleader (Vakil) we have certified that the said peace of land belonged to the said Company of France, so it was just that the Director of the said Company should finish his undertaking and you should leave him to carry on his trade peacefully according to the custom of other Companies. If the Dutch still persists you will prevent them, be prompt in this matter.

1691. Chandernagore.

Dastok or permission from Mirhallyheebar faussedar or Magistrate of Hughly, ordering the Dutch not to trouble the Director of the French Company in the matter of the building the house, on the 22nd of the month of Ramzan the 34th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to the year 1691.

1690. Chandernagore.

Formerly we received a Parwana from the Nawab Ibrahim Khan on the 25th of the month of Gemadoussamy the 33rd year of the rule of the Emperor or 1690 in which it was written that the French and the Dutch companies were enemies in relation of trade ; that the Director of the French Company wished to build a lodge near a garden belonging to the Dutch proximity which gave rise to their quarrel and war. If the Director of the French Company wishes to build his dwelling place in the dependancy of Hughly, it should be in some other more remote piece of ground so that there may be no dispute and that he may live in peace with the Dutch, on which the Director of the said French Company stopped the work ; but a few days after he received a second Parwana on the 10th of the month of Ramzan of the 34th, year of the reign of the Emperor or 1691 that following the Pata sealed up by the Cazi and with the consent of the Dutch Vakil the 61 Bighas of land belong to the French Company ; it is lawful that the Nawab should grant the said Parwana to the Director of the said Company and the Dutch should be forbidden to cause him troubles in any thing whatever.

What we are also doing by the present Dastok ; besides it is stated in the said Parwana that the Director of the said Company has hired the house of Dabisse Anglois from Mulla Abdulhady the owner of the said house. The Director of the said Company can repair the said house build his lodge and defend himself against the Dutch if he is still troubled by them.

1693.
Patna.

Firman of the Emperor Aurangzib on the 14th of the month of Safar of the 36th year of his reign corresponding to the year 1693 allowing to carry on trade of the French Company in the kingdoms of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar & Patna.

Some days ago His Imperial Majesty had been informed by the petition of Kefaet Khan Dewan and by the Governor of Muxudabad that Mr. Deslandes, the Director of the French Company in Bengal wished to set up his business in the kingdoms of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna. If His Imperial Majesty is pleased to grant him a firman for setting up his said business which he promised to this effect—a present of Rs. 40,000/- for the Emperor and another of Rs. 10,000/- for the Governor of Muxadabad without prejudice of commission or other present which is the custom to pay every year. It is why Kefaet Khan Dewan should take a Mauzoulka bond or a written pledge from Mr. Deslandes by which he would promise to pay the duties at the same rate as the Dutch and make the present which he had promised as soon as the firman of His Imperial Majesty would be given to him for settlement of his own trade in Bengal, Orissa & Behar, a copy of which Mouzoulka Kefaet Khan would take care to send as soon as he would receive from Mr. Deslandes.

1693.
Patna.

Parwana of Ibrahim Khan Nawab of Dacca and of Kafaet Khan Dewan sealed with their stamps granted for the same subject (topie) on the 16th of the month of Jemadoularul of the 36th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb or 1693.

It is made known to all officers, clerks and all the people of the custom houses of Bengal & Orissa.

The petition which Mr. Deslandes has presented before His Imperial Majesty for the settlement of his trade and dwelling houses in the kingdom of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar waits upon so as the Emperor should grant him a firman similar to that of the Dutch on condition of paying Rs. 40,000/- which he had promised to the Emperor. We therefore grant him the present Parwana similar to what we have awarded to the Dutch provided that he promises to pay the above mentioned sum of Rs. 40,000/-. His vessels can therefore cast anchors in Hugly, Ingely, Baleswar and in other places where he will consider suitable after paying the custom duties at the rate of the Dutch ; he can transport his merchandise where he will think fit, sell to whom he wishes, buy from whom he pleases and take as broker whom he will judge proper and buy in the kingdom of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna linen, sugar, wax, silk, saltpeter and other commodities, send where it will please him ;

that no body is to cause him uneasyness neither to trouble him in his trade nor to ask him custom duties so that he can drive peacefully his said business and send ships at the first monsoon ; that he would not side with those to whom he would lend money ; on the contrary you will compel them to pay, ships will no longer be captured by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor. People will cause no difficulty on the way when he will send men for his business, who will walk about as long as they wish, will stop and will remain where they will judge fit. They will send no guard to his ships neither seize nor visit his vessels ; on the other hand at the dastok or permission you will let them go because he has received the firman from the Emperor similar to that of the Dutch. Thus you will co-operate with him as you do with the Dutch.

1693. Baleswar Hughly.

Parwana of the Nawab of Bengal, Governor of Muxudabad of the 3 of the month Robioulavai the 37th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb corresponding to 1694, bearing permission to set up the trade of the company of France and of correspondants in the realm of Bengal and in the environs up to Baleswar Piply, and other places.

Let it be known to all officers, clerks, Zemindars, Jaigirdars, Casugos and all the men of Muxudabad custom houses and other places at present on duty and to those who will be in future. The French Company has obtained on the 14th Safar of the 36th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb a firman from his Imperial Majesty and Parwana from Kefaet Khan, Dewan of the Emperor and us on the settlement of his trade and lodges in the kingdom of Bengal and in the environments so that the said company of France can take for correspondants whom they will think fit can buy or sell from whom and where they will judge to be proper, can send merchandises from Baleswar, Piply and anywhere else to Hughly and those from Hughly to Baleswar and other places without anybody's asking or exacting custom duties from them neither those of Kattebara or ships neither arrest nor search his commodities nor capture his ships by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor and last of all that it will not take the party of those to whom it would lend money ; on the contrary you will make them pay, it will pay the custom duties in a fixed place at the same rate as the Dutch and at the dastok or permission of the Director of the said French Company the commodities sent by their correspondants will be allowed to be borne because the said company has got a firman from His Imperial Majesty so that effect similar to that of the Dutch.

1694.

Parwana of the Dewan of Muxudabad sealed with his seal on the 7th of the month of Jamadeoularal in the 37th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1694 bearing reduction of duties to 4% on the substances of gold and silver at the same rate as the Dutch.

Let it be known to Mir Ibrahim Hussain, the chief of coinage of Akbarnagore or Rajmal.

I received the letter which was written to me concerning duties on matter of gold and silver which the French Company sends for coining at Akbarnagore. The duties that the Dutch pay being 4% namely 3% for the cost of coinage, 3/8 for the duty of the Emperor and 5/8 for the and other expenses. I request to exact henceforward only 4% as the Dutch pay from the Director of the French Company in matter of gold and silver which he will coin because he has received a firman from the Emperor similar to that of the Dutch.

Parwana of the same to Mr. Deslandes on the same topic on the 7th of the month of Chival in the 38th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1695.

1695.

Mr. Deslandes is the Director of the French Company I carefully read the letter you sent me some days ago. You told me that the duties which the Dutch pay on the substances of gold and silver which they coin at Akbarnagore are 4% viz. 3% for the cost of coinage, 3/8 for the Emperor and 5/8 for the and other expenses and in matter of gold and silver that you send to be coined at the said place of Akbarnagore you are made to pay 4/8% viz. 3% for the cost of coinage, 3/8 for the Emperor and 5/8 for the and other expenses, you requested me to write to Mir Ibrahim Hussain to exact only the same duties of 4% as the Dutch pay in the matter of gold and silver that you send to be coined in Akbarnagore. I have therefore written him that henceforward he should take only the said duties of 4% at the same rate as the Dutch pay and as a consequence of the great firman you received from the Emperor.

Parwana for the Nawab of Bengal sealed with Kefaet Khan Dewan of His Imperial Majesty on the 7th of the month of Zelkad in the 39th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb corresponding to 1696 addressed to Mir Muhammad Hussain Magistrate of Hughly ordering the French and the Dutch not to carry on war in the kingdom of Bengal.

1696.

Let it be known to Mir Muhammad Hussain that some days ago the Vakil of the French Company reported us that last year there came six vessels of the said Company of France to the roadstead of Baleswar and the Director of the Dutch had spoken you it is true that Holland is at war with France but till now the Dutch have no quarrel with the French in the country and neither wish to have it in future on which you have sent word to the Director of the French Company that the Director of the Dutch Company being in peaceful disposition if he is satisfied of taking advantage of it what he accepted in addition then each of the two Directors must write a Mousaulka or a written pledge to which the Director of the said Dutch Company consented and the said Directors had each given reciprocally a Mousaulka signed by the Cazi, but this year the Director of the French Company having despatched two vessels loaded with cargo to France, the Director of the Dutch Company has at once brought four or five men of war and has sent them to the mouth of the Ganges from

Cajo up to Gangasagar to capture the two vessels of the said French Company. The present Parwana is being sent to prohibit the Dutch to commit any act of hostility and prevent them from declaring war in the country. If they do not follow the orders that you give them to this effect you should at once write to us ; be prompt in the matter.

1696.
Patna.

Parwana from Sedaikan Nawab of the province of Behar or Patna on the 21st of the month of Raviassani in the 39th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1696 bearing permission to carry on trade in Patna and other places of his government.

Let it be known to the officers employees of the town of Patna and to all the Zemindars, Zaigirdars and men of Custom Houses of the province of Behar.

As the French Company has not received the firman from His Imperial Majesty supporting the settlement of his lodges and trade in the countries of Hindusthan similar to that of the Dutch, taxes should be exacted from the said French Company at the same rate as the Dutch pay so that they can carry over commodities where they will think proper, sell or buy with whom or where they wish, take for broker whom they will judge fit ; they can buy saltpetre and all other things of merchandises in the province of Behar and in the environs in Bengal or elsewhere and from Bengal to Patna that nobody is to ask them duties on the way neither seize their ships, extort some presents nor lay hold upon the said vessels by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor ; they will not side with those to whom they will lend money ; on the contrary you will make their debtors pay, they will not visit fleet. No guard will be seen on board the vessels ; no duty of Kattebara however great or small will be realised either on the vessels or on the bazaras because all these are strictly forbidden to us from the side of the Emperor. Thus you should deal with the French Company as you are accustomed to do with the Dutch—Pay attention to what I write to you.

1698.
Patna.

Nichan Zicham from the son of the Emperor Aurangzeb on the 8th of the month of Rageab the 41st year of his rule which corresponds to 1698. The Nichan Zicham is emanated from the son of the Emperor as the firman is from the Emperor himself and the Parwanas from the Nawabs and Dewans.

Mr. Deslandes, Director of the French Company having begged for obtaining a Zicham from His Imperial Majesty similar to that of the Dutch, the Emperor would have accorded him the present Nichan Zicham.

It is apprised that the French Company can cast the anchor of their vessels at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and in other places and after they would have paid the duties at the same rate as the Dutch they can sell their commodities to whom they wish, take as broker whom they will judge proper, buy goods in the country of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar, that nobody is to arrest or capture their vessels by force even

if it were for the service of the Emperor so that they can drive their trade peacefully.

Parwana of Saik Arrabkan sealed with his stamp on the 21st of the month Rageab the 42nd year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1699.

1699.
Patna.

It is announced to all officers employees and all the people of the Custom Houses of Bengal, Orissa & Behar at present on duty and to all those who will be in future.

Mr. Deslandes the Director of the French Company having obtained the firman from the Emperor and the Parwana of the Nawab Ibrahim and that of Dewan Kefaet Khan for the settlement of his commerce and the lodges in the kingdom of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna similar to those of the Dutch it is why we have granted him the present Parwana.

Their vessels can therefore cast anchor at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and other places where they will think fit after paying the custom duties they can transport commodities, sell or buy in all places and with them whom they like, take for broker whom they will judge proper and they can buy in the said countries of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar, linen, sugar, wax, saltpetre and other commodities to send elsewhere, that no body is to hinder them or detain and search their vessels or ask them the custom duties so that they may carry on their trade peacefully and send off their vessels at first monsoon. They will neither side with those to whom they would lend money ; on the contrary they should be compelled to pay. There will be no difficulty on the way when they will send people for their business men who will walk about and take up their abode where they will judge proper and no vessel shall be taken even it is required for the service of the Emperor because this is strictly forbidden to us by His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Mussukulikhan, Dewan of the Nawab of Bengal, on the 2nd of the month of Rajeab the 1st year of the Emperor Farosquier or of the month of October, 1707(2) according to the note written in French on the back of the original addressed to M. de la Bat, Director of the French Company giving permission to set up again the factory and the commerce of Cassimbazar.

October, 1707.
Cossimbazar.

I have received the letter which you have sent me by which I understand that you have sent away your correspondent to revive the commerce and the factory of Cassimbazar ; that the vessels of the French Company have arrived at Hughly and that wheat, butter and other provisions were sent to you from Cassimbazar that the officers of the custom house of the Ganges have detained your ships against the rights and privileges granted by the Emperor to the said Company of France. I have sent an officer

(2) Ferockshire ascended the throne in the year 1713. If this date (1707) is correct, it is not understood to whom does it refer.

with a dastok or permission to release them with order to conduct them up to Hughly. You can send back your correspondent to the factory of Cassimbazar and be convinced that I will have respect for him and of the said Company of France as I do.

Parwana of Jaserkhan Nasery, Nawab of Bengal sealed with his stamp of the 21 of the month of Rabioularal in the 3rd year of the reign of the Emperor Mahamoutcha which answers to 1720.

1720.

It is made known to all officers, employees and all men of the custom house of Bengal & Orissa at present on duty and all those who will be in future that by the firman of the Emperor Aurangzeb and by the Parwanas of the ancient Nawabs and Dewans the French Company is ordered to pay the duty at 3½% with the Jijia (3) at the same rate as the Dutch ; when they would pay the duty according to the firman of his Imperial Majesty their ships can then anchor at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and in those places where they will think fit, sell and buy from whom they like, take as broker whom they judge proper and make purchases and forward to all countries without anybody's asking or exacting the custom duties nor seize their commodities or vessels as we are strictly forbidden by the Emperor.

Some years because of the war which the French maintained against the English, the Dutch and other European nations Mr. d'Hardancourt, Director of the said Company has come a short time ago with order to set up again his commerce, as the Dutch have obtained from the Emperor Faresquier a firman reducing the duties to 2½%. Mr. d' Hardancourt has sent his vakil to us praying to grant him a Parwana sealed with our stamp in which the duty of 3½% to be reduced to 2½% at the same rate as the Dutch with the intent to which he promises and binds himself to pay Rs. 40,000/- to the Emperor and Rs. 10,000/- for the Nawab of Bengal. Having received Rs. 10,000/- we have granted him the present Parwana similar to that of the Dutch till he has obtained a firman from the Emperor.

We let you know by this present Parwana that henceforward you should exact from the French Company only 2½% and that nobody is to detain his vessels and merchandises neither to cause any trouble in his commerce as we are strictly forbidden by the Emperor, we shall aprise you of the rest when we shall receive the firman of His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Abdur Ratsimkhan, Nawab of the province of Behar or of Patna on the 4th of the month of Maharam in the 3rd year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud

1720. Patna.

(3) Nita. This Parwana was the only one where mention is made of the tax Jijia which is as head tax. It was abolished in the kingdom of Bengal By the Emperor Aurangzeb at the request of the prince Azemdara his son, formerly Nawab of Dacca who levied the Cazena or the tax on lands. This is what has been gathered on the Poll tax Jijia which is seen mentioned with surprise in the Parwana granted long after the death of the Emperor who put an end to it and change it as it afterwards come to be known as tax on lands.

Shah which corresponds to the year 1720 supporting the revival of the business of Patna obtained by Messrs. Caesar and Bourlet d' Hervillins.

Let all officers, employees, Zamindars, Zaigirdars and all men belonging to the custom house of the town and of the province of Patna and of the environs know that a few years after paying the custom duties at the same rate as the Dutch the said Company has set apart the factory of Patna because of the injustice of the Nawabs and Dewans who have preceded us. The Company intending to restore their commerce in Patna it is why we grant them the present Parwana so that by paying the custom duties according to the old firman of His Imperial Majesty they have obtained, they can send forth commodities where they think proper sell or buy with him and where they will please, can also buy in the said province of Patna and in the neighbourhoods saltpetre and other goods to send off where they like that nobody is to ask or exact custom duties from them detain his merchandise search them or their ships or take from them the Kattebara tax for all that is severely forbidden by the Emperor so you should deal with the French as you do with the Dutch—Pay attention to what I write to you.

Receipts.

Translations of six receipts of various sums paid for getting the following firmans on

No. 1.

Rs. 10,000/-.

We have received the present of 10,000 current rupees that Mr. Deslandes, Director of the Company of France had sent and placed in the hands of Mir Mahamud Akbar for erecting houses in Bengal, Orissa & Behar or Patna on the 1st Rajeab 1104 of the hegira year of the 36th year of the Emperor Aurangzeb, it is why we give the present receipt to help him in time and place.

No. 2.

Rs. 5,000/-.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 14th of the month of Ramzan 1105 of the Hegira year and 38th year of the rule of the Emperor.

No. 3.

Rs. 5,000/-.

Received by Mr. Deslandes, Director of the French Company the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 25 of the month of Ramzan 1106 of the Hegira year and 39th year of the rule of the Emperor.

No. 4.

Rs. 10,000/-.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 10,000 current rupees on the 27th of the month Zethege 1108 of the Hegira year and of the Emperor 41st.

No. 5.

Rs. 5,000/-.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 14th of the month of Ramzan 1109 of the Hegira year and of the Emperor 42nd.

No. 6.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 6th of the month Ramzan 1110 of the Hegira year and of the rule of the Emperor 43rd.

Rs. 5,000/-.

Parwana of Jeaffarkhan Nawab of Bengal granted to Mr. Dupleix in the name of the French Company reducing the custom duties to 2½% at the rate of the Dutch on the 23rd of the month Jamadoula in the 14th year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud Sah which answers to 1731.

1731. Duties of 2½%.

Formerly Emperor Aurangzeb has granted to the French Company a firman which allows it to carry on trade in Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna and elsewhere paying the same duties as the Dutch. The Company has also obtained the Parwanas of the Nawabs and Dewans of Bengal to that effect but Mr. Dupleix Director of the said Company having promised a present of Rs. 40,000/- to the Emperor and another of Rs. 10,000/- to the Nawab of Bengal ; wishes well to have for it a firman from His Imperial Majesty by which the duties of the said company which were formerly paid at the rate of 3½% be reduced henceforward to 2½% as the Dutch pay, the Director of the said Company having paid Rs. 10,000/- as present to the Nawab Jeafarkhan to get his parwana in his groun[d] we grant the present parwana to the said company not to delay their trade which awaiting for the firman from the Emperor.

It is announced to all officers, employees, zemindars, zaigirdars and all the people of the custom houses of Bengal, Orissa Behar and of the environs at present on duty and to those who will be in future neither to take nor to exact the duties of the French Company at the rate of 2½% as the Dutch pay neither to ask or call for any other duty on the way, not to detain or search their ships or goods neither seize the said vessels by force nor otherwise even if it was necessary for the service of the Emperor because all these are strictly forbidden by His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Aliverdikhan Nawab of Patna on the 2nd of the month of Rageab in the 17th year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud Shah granted and obtained by Mr. Groiselle the head of the factory of the said place giving permission to re-establish the commerce and the factory of the said place the date given below answers to the month of December 1734 according to the note written on the back of the original.

December, 1734.

It is proclaimed to all officers, employees, zemindars, jaigirdars, kangos and to all the people of the custom house of Patna at present on duty and to all those who will follow in future.

The Company of France wishing to re-establish the commerce in Patna we have granted them the present parwana to this effect when they would pay the custom duties according to the firman of His Imperial Majesty who orders to make the French Company pay the same duties as the Dutch pay ; they can transport their goods where they will think fit purchase from him whom they will please take him as broker whom they judge best

and sell to whom they like. They can also purchase in the said kingdom of Patna Saltpeter, opium and other commodities to send forth in Bengal and elsewhere that no body is to ask them custom duties, to detain or visit their goods and ships neither to collect the Kattebara too on the said vessels nor on the great or small bazars because the said company has got a firman from His Imperial Majesty similar to that of the Dutch.

1725.
Chandernagore.

Aldees or villages of the company which compose the colony of Chandernagore.

Parwana of Camarondinkan more known under the name of Camoidiban Vizir of the Emperor Mamud Shah on the 19th of the month of Zehija the eighth year of the rule of the Emperor corresponding to the year 1725 written on the subject of inhabitants of aldees of the Company.

It is announced to all the officers, employees of Hughly and of Satgan at present on duty and those who will come hereafter.

Some days ago the Vakil of the French company has declared to us that the officers and employees of Hughly and of Satgan ill-treated the inhabitants of the Aldees of the said company although they pay the rent ordered by his Imperial Majesty and that because of their injustice these inhabitants far from habituating themselves in the said Aldees left their abodes which would bear a great prejudice to the company and its commerce. We let you know therefore by the present parwana neither to take or henceforth collect only the rent as regulated according to the statute of His Imperial Majesty on the aldees, not to ill-treat the inhabitants neither to force to get more of it. Be careful that we write to you. (4)

(To be continued.)

HARI HAR SETT.

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(4) I avail this opportunity to convey my sincere thanks to Monsieur Gerbenis—His Excellency the late Governor of French India, for his kind instruction to the archives for supplying me the copies of the documents. To late Mons. A. Singaravelon the curator of old documents in the archives of Pondicherry, who has kindly taken all the troubles personally of searching and copying the required papers and sending them to me free of charge, and also to Srijut Kristo Lall Pal, M.A., of Chandernagore for taking the trouble of translating them for me from French.

Books on the Table

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. C.I.E. Vol. I, 1739-1754; Vol. II, 1754-1771. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta 1932 and 1934.

In William Irvine's *Later Mughals,* edited and brought down to 1739 by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, we have the history of the decline of the Mughal Empire from the time of Aurangzeb to the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. Sir Jadunath is now carrying on the story down to the conquest of Delhi by the British in 1803. Of the two volumes before us, the first deals with the years 1739-54, that is from the departure of Nadir Shah to the deposition of the debauched Ahmad Shah, while the second continues the narrative from the accession of Alamgir II down to the return to Delhi at the end of 1771 of the banished and wandering Shah Alam II. Attention is necessarily confined to Northern India, or Hindustan proper, and largely to the north-central and north-western portion thereof, where the influence of the Mughal or of his Wazirs, or 'keepers', as they have appropriately been termed, was to some degree still felt. The story is suitably divided into chapters on a two-fold basis, viz., according to (1) the provinces and areas involved, and (2) the leading actors on the stage for the time being. Reference to the Eastern Provinces is practically confined to the incursions of the Marathas—of which a concise, but excellent survey is given—and the fruitless activities of Ali Gauhar in those parts. The Marathas are, of course, constantly in the lime-light, and the numerous campaigns and plundering expeditions of their "locust swarms" are related with exceptional insight and precision.

The seeds of decay in the Mughal Empire had been sown during the reign of Aurangzeb, but even under his weakling successors, though outlying provinces were shaking themselves free, at least the semblance of control by the central government was maintained for some three decades; but the crumbling edifice was shattered by the shock of Nadir's ruthless onslaught, and thereafter the disintegration of the empire went on unchecked. Asaf Jah had established an independent state in the Deccan; the Marathas had made themselves masters of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand ; Saadat Khan had become practically independent in Oudh ; the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which had acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi by making fitful remittances of revenue, was usurped by Alivardi Khan, who soon assumed an attitude of independence. The Marathas were emboldened to extend their depredations across India to the

Hooghly and northwards to the walls of Delhi; the military power of the Sikhs, organised by Guru Govind, was growing apace; the Jats of the Bharatpur area had been consolidated by the astute Badan Singh into an important power; the Afghans and Rohelas settled in parts of what is now the Bareilly division seized for themselves wide areas in those fertile tracts. As the central control was collapsing each of these powers took the opportunity to extend their territories at the expense of their neighbours. Northern India became a maze of conflicting forces and sects, almost bewildering in its complexity. It is an era of kaleidoscopic changes, of faction and intrigue in the enervated emperor's entourage, of pitiable rapine, devastation and slaughter, indeed of horror piled upon horror, as Sir Jadunath writes in respect of his second period. The land had not recovered from the effects of Nadir's ravages and cruelties when the Abdali, Ahmad Shah, commenced his long series of invasions (1747-1767), culminating in his decisive victory at Panipat, where the power of the Maratha confederacy, then at its zenith, was irretrievably broken. On the final retirement of the Abdali the road was cleared for the rising Sikh power to gather strength and push into the Doab, and for Shujau'd-daula—the nominal ally of the Afghan king—to retire into Oudh and strengthen his own position against the future, in which he was destined to play so important a part.

To write a connected history of this tangle of events is enough to tax the ability of any historian; and Sir Jadunath must be congratulated on the eminent success with which he has performed the task. He has qualifications possessed by no previous historian. In addition to his grasp of the conditions of the time, and of the topography of Northern India as a whole—an indispensable foundation—his acquaintance, not only with Persian but also with Marathi and other vernaculars in which the records of the period are written has enabled him to draw upon a large mass of material which others had not been in a position to study. In fact the special value of this, as of his other historical works, lies in the wide research made for contemporary material in Persian and the vernaculars, as well as in the European archives. and in the historical acumen and independence of judgment with which he has sifted and utilised these records. We have here a very well written, fully attested, account of the pitiable turmoil, nay chaos resulting from the collapse of central control. It is a story crowded with tragedy, but we hope it may be widely read because it teaches a grave lesson—a lesson for the present and for the future.

The volumes have been carefully printed: typographical errors are very few. We may note that Ghotauli (vol. II, p. 537) should read Gothauli. For Caillaud's route (vol. II, p. 540, n.) from the Patna district, after the battles of Mushinpur (not Masumpur) and Sherpur, across country to the Burdwan district in pursuit of the Shahzada, the stages will be found in Archibald Swinton's journal (see the *Swinton Family Records*, Edinburgh, 1908, privately printed, pp. 22f.). The names therein given, though many are strangely transcribed, can all be identified with the help of Rennell's

original large scale (5 mi. to the inch) sheets. Caillaud proceeded through Barh and Daryapur to Rahua Nala (near the modern Lakhi Sarai) and thence more or less southwards to Mahadeo Simaria, and on to old Gidhaur (Qasba Gidhaur, about 6 mi. S. by W. of modern Jamui, going on SE. to Dumri and through the Batia-Bamdah gorge to Chakai ; and so on.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE VOYAGE OF THOMAS BEST. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1934.

Though a temporary factory had been established in 1611 at Masulipatam by Peter Floris in the Seventh Voyage to the East Indies—that of the *Globe* commanded by Anthony Hippon—the first permanent factory on Indian soil was that settled at Surat in October 1612 under the agreement made with the Viceroy of Gujarat by Captain Thomas Best, who commanded the Tenth Voyage (1612-14), that of the *Dragon* and *Hosiander*. This latter voyage has therefore always held a place of special importance in the annals of the E. I. Company, an importance which was enhanced by Best's fine victory over a portuguese fleet. The successful establishment of a factory at Surat, due chiefly to the competence and firmness of Thomas Aldworth, the chief factor, so aroused the apprehension of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa that a fleet of four galleons and a large number of frigates was despatched under Nuno da Cunha to destory Best's two vessels. After four distinct gallantly fought engagements Best succeeded in completely defeating this superior force, with trifling loss on his side, an achievement which raised the prestige of the British in those seas. So far Best had indeed deserved well of his employers; his subsequent action, however, exposed him to disapproval. Sailing from Gujarat in the beginning of 1613 down the west coast of India and round Ceylon, he reached Achin in April, passing on to Tiku in July and Bantam in November. On the 15th December, leaving the *Hosiander* behind, he sailed from Bantam in the *Dragon* via the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helana and the Azores, arriving in the Thames exactly six months later. His reception, when all had been disclosed, was a mixed one. He had not visited the Moluccas, as his instructions required; he had engaged largely in private trade in his own behalf and had permitted others to do likewise; he had, in fact, as was reported at one of the meetings of the Court, "deserved extra-ordinarily well and yll."

Sir William's unrivalled knowledge of the records of the E. I. Company has enabled him to amplify Best's very dry and laconic journal (the sole entry on many a date being the record that such and such a member of the crew died that day) by printing other accounts of the voyage and of the events connected with it. We have the Journal of Standish, the surgeon, continued by Croft, the purser; extracts from the accounts of the ship masters Salmon and Bonner, and from those of Copland, the chaplain, and

Nicholas Withington, who sailed as an attendant on Best. In addition to these, there is a translation of Bocarro's account of the naval engagements with the Portuguese, copies of relevant letters written by factors and others, and, most interesting of all in many respects, extracts from the Court Minutes of the Company, which are unfortunately incomplete at this period. A comprehensive introduction, explanatory foot-notes and a good index enhance the value of this admirably edited volume.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By Sir Charles Fawcett, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1934.

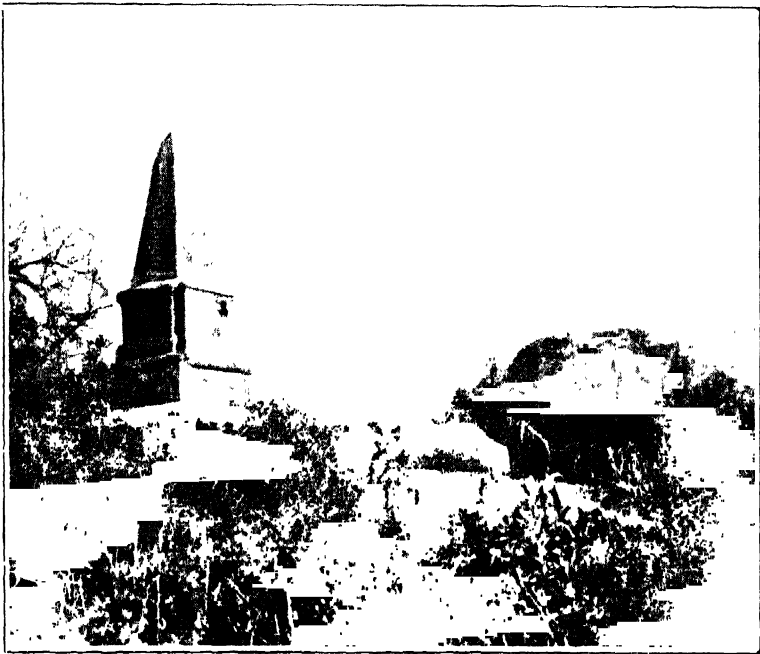
No complete history of the administration of justice by the British in India has ever been writtten. Since the time "when the wisdom of Parliament embraced the subject of the government of India," as James Mill expressed it, and the Regulating Act of 1773 established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, material for such a history is voluminous and readily accessible, but for the previous century and a half or so laborious research among the old records of the Company and documents preserved in the Public Records Office and elsewhere is required. Sir Charles Fawcett, himself a distinguished judicial officer and for many years a Judge of the High Court in Bombay, has applied himself to this task, and has compiled the history of what he calls the first century of British justice in India, being an account of the Court of Judicature at Bombay, established in 1672, and of other courts of justice in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, from 1661 to the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company in 1765.

Owing to the terms of the royal charter granted in 1668 by Charles II when he made over the Company the fort and island of Bombay ceded to him by Alphonso VI, Bombay was the first settlement to have a special Court of Judicature for the administration of British justice to the people. Sir Charles has devoted considerable space to a very full account of the establishment of this court by the able and statesmanlike Gerald Aungier, and of its working under successive presiding judges. The accounts of the courts at Madras and Calcutta are more brief and with less personal details.

In the pages relating to Bombay, interesting sidelights are thrown upon the conditions prevailing at the period, and the conduct of the affairs of the settlement. We get an insight also into the characters of many of the men who played leading parts: of Aungier, the real founder of Bombay's greatness; of George Wilcox, the first judge; of Thomas Niccolls, and his disputes with John Child and his Council; of Henry Gary's somewhat chequered career, and his alleged connexion with rebellious Keigwin; of the independent Dr. John St. John, who was sent out by the Company as Judge of the Court of Admiralty; of John Vaux, whose tomb serves as a landmark to mariners approaching Surat, and the circumstances that led to his dismissal; of the autocratic Childs, and of disputes between the executive and judicial

branches of the administration, that were destined to culminate later on in Bengal in the days of Hastings. Whatever were the shortcomings of the local courts and of individual officers from time to time—and Sir Charles does not minimise these—it is gratifying to notice the evidence in this volume of the sustained solicitude of the Company's Directors in London for the constitutional and impartial administration of the laws.

The charter of 1668 not only provided for the establishment of courts on English lines, but also—and this is not generally known—gave authority to the Company to frame their own 'laws', 'consonant to reason, and not repugnant to or contrary to, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws' of England. One of the most interesting discoveries made by Sir Charles is that of a copy of the Company's 'laws' promulgated under this sanction, which he has reproduced (pp. 18-28). The trials, be it noted, were to be held with a jury of 12 Englishmen, except when any party to the dispute was not English, in which case the jury was to be half English and half non-English. Trial by jury, in both civil and criminal cases, in fact began in Bombay and Madras in 1672, and 1678 respectively.

Sir Charles's thorough examination of the original records, has, moreover, enabled him to correct many mistakes made by previous writers on the early history of Bombay, as also to repudiate some depreciatory statements that had gained common credence. The excellent index is most useful.

TOMB OF COLONEL THOMAS WHARTON
AT KANAUJ

From a Photograph by Mr. C. L. Wallace, I. C. S.

The Editor's Note Book

WE have receievd from Mr. C. L. Wallace, the Collector of Fatehgarh, a photograph (which we reproduce) of the tomb of Colonel Thomas Wharton which stands on a high mound on the old cliff of the Ganges at Kanauj. Colonel Wharton commanded the 5th Regiment of Bengal Native Cavalry, which he raised at Ghazipur in 1800, and was drowned in the Kali Nadi on January 21, 1802, with his horse and his dog, while endeavouring to cross the river in flood. His wife, Sophia Paulina Skardon, whom he married on July 12, 1789, was the daughter of Samuel Skardon, a deputy commissary in the Ordnance Department, who died at Fatehgarh on October 30, 1788; and sister of Mary Skardon, the wife of Captain Richard Ramsay, the man who deserted after the battle of Bitaurah in 1794 and about whose career we had something to say in this place about a year ago (Vol. XLVI, p. 59). Wharton was second in command to Ramsay at the battle. Mr. Wallace writes:

A Landmark at Kanauj.

> The tomb overlooks the spot where the Kali Nadi formerly flowed into the Ganges, and is two miles east of Serai Miran. In September 1835 Mrs. Fanny Parks visited the place on her way to Fatehgarh and in her book "The Wanderings of a Pilgrim" describes the officer as a colonel but does not mention his name. From 1802 onwards the pyramid was regularly whitewashed to serve as a navigation mark for boats coming up the Ganges from Cawnpore to Fatehgarh. It is still whitewashed regularly by the Collector. The small tomb on the right is that of the dog : and between them a glimpse can be obtained of the rounded top of the horse's tomb. On the four tapering sides of the pyramid the dim outlines are visible of armorial bearings. Both tablet and inscription have vanished ; but the zemindar, Pandit Debi Din, has informed me that he wishes to replace them. The tomb probably overlooks the spot where Major Nairne stuck a tiger with his hogspear and Lord Lake finished him off with a pistol shot (see Thorn's "History of the War in India").

The son of Colonel Wharton, Thomas Ramsay Wharton, who died at Patna on August 19, 1849, at the age of 58, is described on his wife's tombstone at Ghazipur as "late of 8th K. R. I. Hussars".

The Afghan Nawab of Sardhana

MR. WALLACE also contributes some most interesting recollections of Sardhana as he knew it when Joint Magistrate of Meerut in 1919; and particularly of the old Afghan Nawab who then resided there and who had ridden to Delhi with Nicholson in 1857. He was a thoroughgoing devotee of the "Nikkalseyn" cult, and having a splendid memory was able to describe the siege and the appearance of the British officers in great detail. Nawab Saiyid Ahmad Shah was descended from Hayat Ali Musa Raza whose family was expelled from Afghanistan on account of services rendered to Alexander Burnes in his mission to Kabul in 1836. The family settled at Sardhana and in 1857 Jan Fishan Khan, the then head, raised a body of horse which served under Nicholson at Delhi. He was made a hereditary Nawab, and on his death in 1864 was succeeded by his son, who died in 1874 without issue and was followed by his uncles Ali Shah and Ahmad Shah who died about 1921. Ahmad Shah left Afghanistan when about four years old and settled at Peshawar, from which place he rode with Nicholson to Delhi. The Begam Samru is still well remembered at Meerut. When it rains outside the city and not in it, the story goes that the old lady has put her umbrella up over the city. Her marble bathroom is the chief sight of the Palace, and much of the furniture of the rooms is evidently contemporary in date.

"A Peer of the Mogul Empire."

ANOTHER tomb in the Fatehgarh district which is whitewashed yearly by order of Government is that of Colonel John Guthrie, a square of brickwork situated in a grove in sight of the high mound which represents all that is left of the fort of Thathia, in Tirwa tahsil. In 1801 Fatehgarh was ceded to the British. The Raja of Thathia rebelled in 1803 and his fort was besieged by them on September 30, 1803. Guthrie was struck by a spent ball and died on October 18. The inscription is remarkable because he is described thereon as a "Peer of the Mogul Empire". He raised the 1/16th Sepoys in 1787 and took them into their first engagement at Thathia. The regiment was known as Guthrie-ka-paltan and was the 3rd Brahmans when it was disbanded in 1919. Guthrie accompanied the Daniells in their expedition into Garhwal in 1788, when he was a captain in the 33rd Sepoys.

William Hickey as an Artist.

WE are able to announce a discovery of some importance in connection with William Hickey the diarist, which reveals him in a new light, as an artist. There has been found in the possession of a lady in London a series of architectural sketches in water-colour of houses etc. in Calcutta Streets, signed "William Hickey, Calcutta, 1789" and interleaved with descriptions in the same handwriting. Hickey's talent in this line was hitherto unsuspected : two architectural sketches from his diary were reproduced in Mr. Spencer's edition, but they are not included in this collection. We

hope to give full details of the new discovery in *Bengal : Past and Present* in the near future.

Zoffany's "Cock Match".

AN extremely fine example of the coloured engraving of Zoffany's "Cock Match" has been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The inscription is as follows: "J. Zoffany pinxt. R. Earlom sculpt. Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match at Lucknow in the Province of Oude in the year 1786 at which were present several High and Distinguished Personages. Published 12th May, 1794 by Laurie and Whittle 53 Fleet Street, London, successors to the late Mr. Robert Sayer". The mezzotint by Sayer was published in 1792. The picture represented is the version painted by Zoffany for Warren Hastings. It is now in the collection of Sir George Sutherland.

The Mystery of "Lucknow Jessie."

AN old controversy is recalled, and a long-standing historical doubt apparently resolved, by Miss Cornelia Sorabji's memoirs, published in 1934 by Nisbet & Co. In 1890 much correspondence appeared in "The Times" regarding the well-known story of the skirling of the bagpipes at Lucknow, and the possibility or probability of their having been heard in the Residency as Havelock's Highlanders advanced to the relief. The story that the pipes were first heard by one Jessie Browne, perpetuated in the popular poem, was most circumstantially reaffirmed in a letter to "The Times" signed by one "M.D." of 29, Maiden-lane, Strand. "I think a confirmatory and corroborative statement of the fact that the sounds of the bagpipes were heard as stated, first by the Highland lassie, but also by another of the women, a person of the name of Emma Gaffney, who was one of the besieged, and she avers that the statement is a correct one, she herself having distinctly heard them," (1) he writes: "I may add that my informant is a witness in herself of the ordeal passed through on that occasion, she having a cicatrix just under the right eye, of the point of a bayonet thrust inflicted as the women rushed into the last place of safety that could be found for them. If anyone would like to hear the woman's story for themselves, they can find the informant at 24, New Church-court, Strand, directly opposite Somerset House."

In another letter Mr. L. E. Ruutz Rees, the former master at the Martiniere school at Lucknow whose diary of the siege ("A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow", London, 1858) is a standard authority, expressed his belief that the story was a myth. In his view it was "to be attributed to Gallic imagination . . . . it first appeared in a French newspaper (if I remember right, it was the *Phare de la Loire*) from which the English newspapers eagerly copied it. A name was then given to the heroine, she was called "Jessie Browne", and the air she had heard was fixed upon to be "The Campbells are Coming"."

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(1) In this sentence some words are missing from the original, but the meaning is clear.

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NOW, forty-five years later, Mr. Rees's beliefs are confirmed by Miss Sorabji. After referring to "The Times" correspondence in 1890, she continues (pp. 39-40): "The story was, it will be remembered (everyone believed it to be history) that Jessie, a Scotch girl, had sensed the approach of the Relief by her gift of second sight, and encouraged the besieged garrison to hold on, thus saving the situation." The Times correspondents were wrangling over Jessie, some saying she was alive and claiming her as a maid, others equally claiming her, but saying she was dead.

The Secret Revealed.

I was staying in London at the time with Miss Adelaide Manning (the daughter of Sergeant Manning), who said, "This is very funny, there's only one person who knows who Jessie was ; and she has not written to "The Times". Would you like to see her and see her story?" I said that I should love to do that. So we made an expedition to a suburb of London, and found a dear old lady sitting by the window in her charming room. She had pink cheeks and wore her snow-white hair in curls under a lace cap. She looked very French, but was English, the widow of one of Talleyrand's secretaries. Miss Manning said, "Writers to "The Times" are quarrelling over "Jessie of Lucknow" ; and told her about the correspondence. She flushed with delight. "My Jessie", she said, "Still alive?" "Will you tell my Indian friend her story?" She complied at once and with evident pleasure. She said that her sister was married to a Colonel in the Indian Army ; that the Colonel and his wife were both with the besieged garrison at Lucknow in 1857; that when the little force was at the very end of its strength, Lucknow was relieved by a Highland detachment. Mme. X— was in Paris when her sister's letter arrived, telling her all this. She was thrilled and sent the story (enlarging it and inventing "Jessie" to make the tale more picturesque), in the form of a letter purporting to have come from India, to a Paris paper. How she chuckled over the true and honourable women who claimed to have pensioned or buried this fictitious person !

"Do write the truth to "The Times"," said Miss Manning. "Never !", said the delicious old lady. "My Jessie is alive, has lived all these years. How can you expect me to say that she was never born !" I believe "The Times" had traced the tale to the French paper in question ; but could get no information from the then control about the writer of the letter."

MR. EDWARD PALMER has in his possession the original *sanad* of the Emperor Shah Alam, conferring the title of Begam on Bibi Faiz Baksh, the Indian lady who was the second wife of Lieutenant-General William Palmer (1740—1816); and has favoured us with a translation of it. The text of the body of it runs thus :

Bibi Faiz Baksh's Sanad.

> AT THIS most auspicious time is issued the most authoritative order commanding obedience and compliance that
>
> WHEREAS in pursuance of Our ample royal mercies and the abundance of Our imperial benefactions which are a pattern of the

favours of Almighty God, we have conferred upon Our worthy subject Faiz al-Nasar the title of Sahib Begam, exalted among the personages and nobles, and distinguished among the peers and companions of Our realm

IT IS THE DUTY of all Our illustrious distinguished noble and highborn heirs Our powerful ministers and exalted commanders all the nobles of Our glorious court and the governors of Our provinces having consideration for Our regard for the auspicious welfare of the said subject being chosen of Our royal bounty for the conferment of this title and approved for the bestowing of these names and known by these distinctions day by day and without [failing] and increasingly to do the same

WRITTEN this twenty-fifth day of the month *Dhu* 'l-Qa'dah in the thirty-seventh year of Our blessed and exalted reign.

The date, *Dhu* 'l-Qa'dah 1210 A.H. corresponds with 8th May 1796, Shah Alam having acceded in 1173 A.H.

An Early English Tomb on the West Coast.

WE have received from Sir Patrick Cadell, I.C.S. (retired), Dewan of the Junagadh State, particulars of an early European tomb, on a strip of mainland belonging to the Portuguese in front of their island of Diu, a few yards outside Junagadh territory. Sir Patrick has visited the spot, which is marked on the Survey map as "Captain Wood's grave"; and reports that the monument is very well preserved. It bears a coat of arms and the following clearly cut inscription:

QUME GREAVET CONSERVET CAPT. MATHEW WOOD COMMANDER OF THE SHIP WELCOME DEPARTED THIS LIFE SEPTEMBER THE 19 ANNO DOMINI 1653.

The first three words are meaningless as they stand: but Sir William Foster has suggested "QUI ME CREAVIT CONSERVAT" as the correct reading—"He who created me keeps me safe". There is no mention of this tomb in the *Bombay Gazetters* or in James Douglas's *Western India ;* but the facts regarding Captain Wood's death are given in Sir William Foster's *British Factories in India,* 1651-1654. The *Welcome*, which was a ship of 240 tons, was despatched by the Company, with another ship the *Dove*, to Surat in the middle of March 1653. As hostilities with the Dutch were in progress, the ships were ordered to put into Diu, send word to Surat, and await the arrival of cargo from that factory. Wood was furnished with a letter from the Portuguese ambassador in London to the Governor of Diu, for whom he also brought a present of broadcloth from the Company. A letter from Surat of November 26, 1653, conveys news of the arrival of the two ships at Diu on September 1, and states that the present was duly delivered to the Governor and that Wood died of fever about a month after his arrival.

Calcutta Firms in 1851.

THE names of the following Calcutta firms, which are still in existence (in some cases under slightly altered designations) are to be found in *East India Register* in 1851 : Apcar and Co., Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co. (with two Gladstones as partners); Gladstone Wyllie and Co.; Hamilton and Co. (with three Remfrys as partners); Jardine Skinner and Co.; Kelsall Hoare and Co. (now Hoare Miller and Co.); Leach Kettlewell and Co. (now Kettlewell Bullen and Co.); McKenzie Lyall and Co. and Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co. Among vanished firms are Carlisle Nephews and Co.; Colvin Ainslie Cowie and Co.; Gisborne and Co.; James Lyall and Co. and Mackillop Stewart and Co.

The Victoria Memorial to be completed.

BEAUTIFUL as the Victoria Memorial is, it is not yet complete. The late Sir William Emerson, the architect, included in his designs four cupolas surmounting the four corner towers; but though the marble for these was years ago cut, carved, numbered and stacked in the grounds, no further progress was made with the project owing to lack of funds and also to engineering doubts. It has now been announced that as the result of expert inquiries the cupolas are to be completed by Messrs Martin and Co. Each cupola consists of a square base with arched openings, above which are the volutes supporting a small dome. The material is to be white Mekrana marble, and it is hoped that they will be in position by about July next.

Archaeology in 1932-3.

THE report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1932-3 shows that steady progress was maintained despite financial stringency, which made it impossible to undertake any extensive excavations. Trial diggings at Harappa revealed a few more houses in the "Workmen's Quarter", recalling the famous "Potters' Quarters" at Athens of the sixth century B.C. At Taxila progress was made with the clearance and conservation of the huge Buddhist monastery at Kalawan; and an important copper-plate unearthed in the previous year has now been deciphered and studied: it apparently relates to about 76 A.D. and records the erection of the shrine by a female lay-worshipper. Another monastery was discovered at Nalanda, and some 75 bronze and stone images and other objects of antiquity were found. In Southern India 489 stone inscriptions and six copper-plate grants were examined, the earliest of the latter was of the 7th century A.D., of the eastern Chalukya king, Vishnuvardhana III. Other activities included much useful work by the Archaeological Chemist, who treated over a thousand antiquities of various kinds and advised on the conservation of many others. He also made a beginning with the scientific preservation of the Mogul paintings and drawings in the museum at the Delhi Fort.

The Hall of a Thousand Pillars.

THE 'Statesman' of January 18th last announces the discovery, by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Deputy Director-General of Archaeological Survey, of the long-lost site of the Hall of a Thousand Pillars, or *Kasr-i-Hazar Satun*, amongst the ruins of Siri, the second in point of date of the Seven Cities. The Hall is mentioned in contemporary historical documents but all memory of its site had long since vanished. In that part of the ruined city where the royal palaces might be expected to be, there were large mounds which clearly covered the remains of some important building; and Maulvi Zafar Hasan has now demonstrated that here was the *Kasr-i-Hazar Satun*. Siri was founded in 1303 by Alauddin Khilji, the foremost of his dynasty, and destroyed about 1550 by Sher Shah, its materials being largely used for the construction of the new town centring on the Purana Qila.

A Protégé of Warren Hastings.

AMONG the many protégés of Warren Hastings was a certain Ralph Winstanley Wood. We know from the log preserved at the India Office that he came out as a Madras cadet on board the *Grafton* with Warren Hastings and the Imhoffs in 1769; and the *Genealogists' Magazine* for December 1929 (vol. V, no. 4) supplies the following additional details, in announcing that his portrait by Gilbert Stuart, the American painter, had been sold at Christie's on May 3, 1929:

> Ralph Winstanley Wood at an early age ran away from school and enlisted in the "Saucy Greens" [the old 36th Foot]. He subsequently took a commission in the 8th Hussars [8th Light Dragoons] and embarked for India, meeting Miss [Mary Margaretta] Pearce on the boat: he met and became friends with Warren Hastings, who persuaded him to leave the Army: he became a salt agent and made a large fortune which he lost when his son-in-law's [Crawford Davison's] firm Bocham Taylor and Co. went bankrupt.

Miss Pearce was certainly on board the *Grafton* as a passenger for Bengal; but there is no record of her marriage with Wood in either the Madras or the Bengal registers which are kept in the India Office. Wood was certainly also in Bengal in 1774. On April 5 in that year, Richard Barwell writes to him from Dacca, addressing him as "Mr. Wood, Agent for receiving the Salt manufactured for the Hon'ble Company in the pergunnah of Salimabad, etc." (*Bengal: Past and Present,* vol. XII, p. 50: letter no. 313). Two more letters written to "R. W. Wood" in October and November 1774 are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 68) but are not reproduced: they serve, however, to complete the identification. Barwell, as chief at Dacca, had been concerned with certain questionable transactions in salt; and he discusses the matter at great length in a letter of May 17, 1775, to his sister Mary (*ibid.*, pp. 230-232). The salt-pans at Salimabad and Duckinsavagepore (Dakhinshahbazpur) which he mentions, are in the modern district of Bakarganj. In 1778 we come across Wood at the Presidency, where he had, no doubt, set up in business. His daughter Mary, who

married Campbell Davison, was baptized at Calcutta on September 7, 1778; and his son, William Warren Winstanley Wood, to whom Warren Hastings stood godfather, on January 8, 1781. There seem to have been two other daughters, of whom one was the wife of William Webber, a Bengal writer; and the other, Elizabeth, married James Taylor of the firm of Bocham Taylor and Co. at Calcutta on November 21, 1779. The name of the firm does not appear in the list of Calcutta "houses of agency" in the *East India Register* for 1798.

Two Persian Interpreters.

A LETTER to "The Times" of November 5, 1934, from Dr. David T. Wylie, states that in Armagh Cathedral there is a mural tablet to the memory of Captain Turner Macan, for many years Persian interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in India, who died in Bengal on July 25, 1836, in which it is stated "To Him is Owing the First Perfect Edition Of Her Great Poet Ferdousee." Major H. Bullock informs us that he recently saw in Brenchley church, Kent, another tablet to a Persian interpreter: "Colonel Patrick Hay, H.E.I.C.S., 4th son of Thomas Hay, Lord Huntingdon, of the Court of Session, Scotland, and uncle of Sir Thomas Hay who succeeded as 5th baronet of Alderstone. Distinguished both as a soldier and oriental scholar, he served as A.D.C. and Persian interpreter to Gen. Sir Eyre Coote during his memorable campaign in the Carnatic against Hyder Ali. He died at Eynsham Hall, Oxford, 1st April 1822, aged 73, and is buried in a vault within the church of that parish. Also in memory of Sarah his wife, 4th daughter of Robert Dashwood of Vallow-wood, Stogumber in the county of Dorset and sister of the Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Dashwood, K.C.B., K.T. and S. [Knight of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword] etc. She died 19th January 1850 and is buried in the vault beneath. . . erected by their grandson J. H. Hay Ruxton of Board Oak."

Neither of these officers is to be found in Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography.* There is some account of the family of Hay of Alderston (sic) in East Lothian in G. E. Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage* [vol. IV (1904), pp. 407-8]. It is not known whether Colonel Patrick Hay's nephew, Thomas Hay, ever assumed the title of Baronet, though the inscription on the mural tablet quoted above states that he "succeeded" as 5th Baronet. Thomas Hay, the elder Patrick's father, "Senator of the College of Justice" under the style of Lord Huntingdon, died February 4, 1755.

The earliest Bengali periodical.

THE question, which was the earliest periodical in Bengali?—has again been attracting attention, and has formed the subject of articles in the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika.* These repeat the statement that Gangadhar Bhattacharya of Calcutta published in B.E. 1222 or 1223 (A.D. 1815-16) a *Bangal Gejet* ("Bengal Gazette") in Bengali, which lasted for less than a year.

Mr. S. C. Sanial made a similar statement in one of his articles on the history of the Press in India in the *Calcutta Review* (1907-1911 ; CXXIV, 1907, p. 393, footnote, and CXXXII, 1911 p. 18); and the same view also appeared in *Bengal : Past and Present,* vol. II, p. 181, in contradiction of Sir Evan Cotton's assertion in his *Calcutta Old and New* (that the first Bengali newspaper was printed at Serampore in 1818).

All these claims however appear to rest on the "Prabhakar's History of the Native Press," which is translated in the *Englishman* of 8th May 1852. No evidence before 1852 has yet been discovered; and the best evidence of all—a copy of the alleged 1815-6 *Bengal Gazette* printed in Bengali—has not yet come to light. Can any reader take the matter further back than 1852, or produce a copy or file of the 1815-6 periodical? Until this is done, its existence must be written down as "not proven."

Bengali type at Serampore.

ALLIED with this is the story of the first founts of Bengali type. Wilkins's Bengali type was first used in 1778, in Halhed's *Bengalee Grammar.* According to an interesting note in the *Calcutta Review* for 1907 (vol. CXXIV, p. 359) Wilkins instructed one Panchanan a blacksmith in the art, and in 1799 the latter offered his services to the Serampore missionaries and made for them the fount used for printing the Bengalee New Testamant in 1801. The printing proclivities of Carey of Serampore were transmitted to his grandson, William Henry Carey of Simla, whose *Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company* is well-known and of whom an interesting sketch appeared in the *Sunday Statesman* on 9th Dec. 1934, over the initials "A.E.D.".

The Warren Hastings Cup at Westminster School.

IN the 'Statesman' of November 7, 1926, was published an interesting article by the Rev. R. Bruce Dickson, describing the silver drinking cup which in 1783 was presented to Westminster School by Warren Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, and twenty other Old Westminsters in India. It is a handsome cup some 12 inches high, and bears the names of the donors. The handles are formed by the trunks of two elephants' heads. This cup is well-known and was on public exhibition on the occasion of the bicentenary celebrations two years ago; but another similar gift seems to have been forgotten. In the *Madras Gazette,* March 10, 1810 (reprinted in Long's *Selections from the Galcutta Gazette,* vol. IV, p. 236), the following passage appeared:

> On Saturday the 24th ultimo (being the last Saturday in February) the gentlemen of the Presidency educated at Westminster School held their anniversary meeting at the Pantheon. The stewards on the occasion, Mr. F [rederick] Gahagan [M.C.S. 1796: d. Nellore, May 19, 1815, aet. 37] and Mr. C. [harles H.] Higginson [M.C.S. 1799: died July 18, 1824 at Trichinopoly] had provided a most

elegant dinner, and fourteen Brothers sat down to the celebration of this festival. After the removal of the cloth, the gold Poculum, presented to them by Warren Hastings, Esq. when Governor General, was filled to the brim, and the standing toast FLOREAT given by the senior steward, with three times three, after which "the immortal memory of their Royal Foundress Queen Elizabeth," "the Universities of the United Kingdom," "Brother Westminsters all over the world", "Public Schools", and several other appropriate toasts followed. The health of the Archbishop of York [E. V. Vernon, 1808-47] and Bishop of London [John Randolph, 1809-13], the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Richmond, the Speaker of the House of Commons [Charles Abbot, 1802-17], the Chief Baron [Sir Archibald Macdonald, 1793-1813] and of many other illustrious living characters educated at this great school, were also drank. The party did not separate until after midnight. Major-general Wood and Mr. H. Gahagan are appointed Stewards for the next Anniversary."

Where is this gold cup now?

MSS at Dacca University.

AN interesting note on the MSS collections of Dacca University Library appeared in the Press in November last. There are it appears about 17,000 manuscripts, of which five thousand are in Bengali and the remainder Sanskrit. All these have been brought together since 1925 by the energy of a committee with Mr. N. K. Bhattasali as its secretary; and the total cost to the University has been only Rs. 5,000. In 1928 Mr. Bhattasali had to resign owing to ill-health and was replaced by Dr. Radha Govinda Basak; but more recently Mr. Bhattasali has been able to return to the task. presentations are still coming in daily from all parts of Bengal; and many MSS of historical interest and importance have thus been preserved from the ravages of time, climate, insects and neglect. The newspaper communiqué from which we draw these details does not record any progress made with the work of cataloguing these vast accessions: we hope that the paramount importance of this task is recognised, as doubtless it is.

De Boigne and the Asiatick Society.

A PAMPHLET, *Le Général Comte de Boigne*, by M. Maurice Besson, was published at Chambéry in 1930. The standard book in French on the career of Benoit de Boigne is the biography by St. Genis, which appeared at Poitiers in 1873. A copy was purchased in 1912 for the India Office Library, which also possesses a copy of Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith's "Sketch of the rise, progress and termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India, with details of the principal events and actions of the late Mahratta War."

This book, of which the Imperial Library at Calcutta also has a copy and which is described by St. Genis as very rare, is the primary authority. The words "sit mihi fas audita loqui", which are inscribed in the title-page, have never been challenged. The present publication is not likely to supplant the two works of which we have made mention; but its publication may serve as a pretext for marshalling a few facts to supplement the account of de Boigne which was given in *Bengal : Past and Present* in 1927.

St. Genis published (pp. 310, 311) the text of an interesting letter written in French to de Boigne by Sir Alexander Johnston from the "Hótel de la Société royale Asiatique, Grafton-street, Londres" on December 12, 1829. As it gives a description of the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society, we append a translation:—

"So many years have passed since I had the pleasure of meeting you in London about the year 1797, at the house of my old friend Richard Johnson (2), that I fear you may have lost all recollection of me. Since our meeting in England, I have been selected by His Majesty to preside over the Royal Council and to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the island of Ceylon. During the fifteen years which I spent in that island, I made frequent journeys on the continent and I have traversed the whole of the south of the Indian peninsula, especially the district between Cape Comorin and Madras. I took a lively interest in the researches which were being made everywhere in India into the religion, history, and customs of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans.

Upon my return from the Indies, my friend Henry Colebrooke, Sir John Malcolm and myself, uniting our efforts under the patronage of His Majesty and the most influential of the members of the Government and the Company, have established, for research into the origins and the monuments of the history and literature of Asia, a Society by the name of the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature.

The statutes authorize us to elect as members gentlemen of foreign nationality who have obtained repute on account of their special knowledge of the country which we have made the object of our studies. Every one who possesses the smallest acquaintance with the history of India, is aware that your name will always be associated, in the annals of the East, with those of the greatmen of talent and character to whom Asia and Europe alike render homage, and who deserve as much respect as admiration. Under this impression, in the interests of the Society, and awaiting your permission, I have taken the liberty of submitting your name as one of our most distinguished corresponding members. I hope, at the close of next month, in my capacity of vice-president, to forward to you the formal notice of your admission to our ranks. I take advantage of this

(2) There have been frequent references to Hasting's banker Richard Johnson in *Bengal : Past and Present.* He was *not* a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

opportunity, my dear Count, to renew the assurances of my friendship, and I beg of you to believe that I remain with all respect and esteem,

Your devoted and obedient Servant,
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON

I am sending this letter through the Ambassador of the King of Sardinia in London, in order to make certain that it shall reach you."

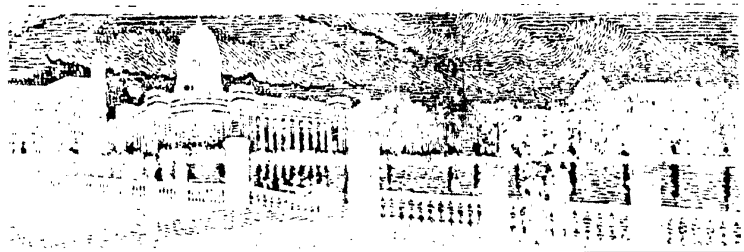
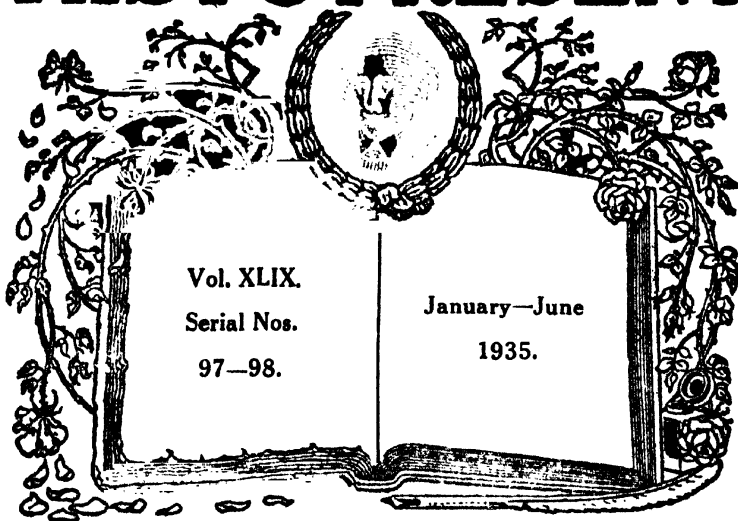
De Boigne was evidently flattered by the compliment which was paid to him; for he not only accepted the offer but placed the letter amongst his archives, from which it was extracted by St. Genis.

The best portrait of de Boigne.

THE best portrait of de Boigne is that which is given by St. Genis as the frontispiece to his book. It is taken from the bust which stands in the great hall of the Hótel de Ville at Chambéry, and which was executed in 1824 under the orders of King Charles Felix, in fulfilment of the decree of King Victor Emmanuel I. Other memorials of de Boigne at Chambéry are: the famous Fontaine des Eléphants, which is surmounted by his statue: the principal street of the town, which bears his name: and the recumbent effigy placed above his tomb in the church of Lemenc.

As regards memoirs of his career, it should be mentioned that "historical eulogies" were written, on behalf of the Royal Academical Society of Savoy, by the Comte Martin and the Chanoine Turinaz (subsequently Bishop of Tarentaise), and that in 1828 M. Raymond published, under the auspices of the same society, a Memoir on the military and political career of General de Boigne, of which a second edition appeared in 1830.

Anikhet in the Andamans.

THOUGH the tradition that Ranikhet is named after an English lady of the names of Annie Kate has had to be abandoned, as noted in our last number, it now appears that near Port Blair in the Andaman Islands there is a village named Anikhet, which was named after one of the daughters of Colonel Cadell, V.C., sometime Chief Commissioner. The 'Statesman,' from which we draw this information, adds: "It was so called in jest after the analogy of Ranikhet, but the name was officially recorded."

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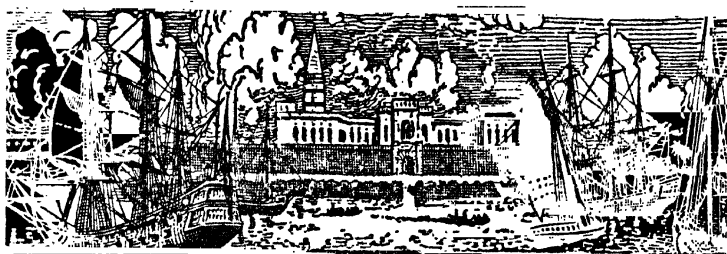
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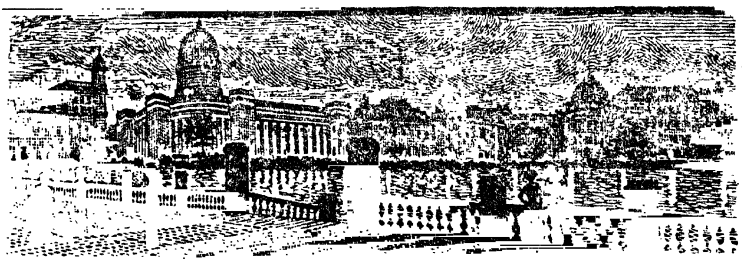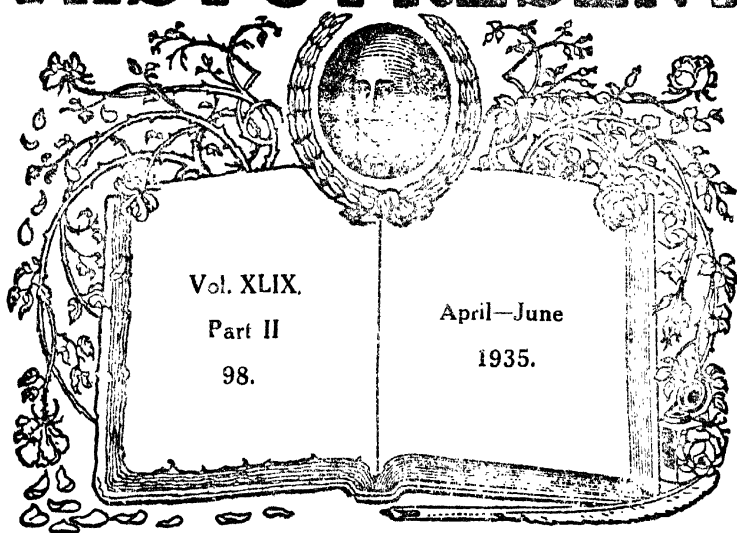
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Some Soldiers of Fortune.

XIV. THE LEGOIS FAMILY

ONE of the earliest commanders-in-chief of the Begam Sombre's army was Captain Louis Legois, though he has not received much attention, probably because his name was omitted from the list given by Major L. F. Smith in his *Sketch. . . of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India* (Calcutta, c. 1804: 2nd edn., London, 1805), the authority on which most subsequent works on the military adventurers in India have been based.

Louis Bourquien, who served the Begam before he entered Scindia's army, tells us in his autobiography (*Journal* of the Panjab Historical Society, vol. IX (1923), pp. 40-41) that "the Begam had first entrusted the command of her troops to an officer who had been born in the country of Liége, and who was called Liégeois. Later on however she recognised the superior ability of an Englishman named George Thomas. . ." (We may note that the assumption of a *nom-de-guerre* was the ordinary practice amongst French adventurers in India, and that Thomas entered the Begam's service about 1787). In 1795 dissensions arose in the Begam's army owing to the unpopularity of the then commander-in-chief, Colonel Nicholas Le Vassoult (who was secretly married to the Begam) ; and Legois (as the name was spelt by his descendants) banded himself with Thomas and Sombre's son the crazy "Nawab Zafaryab Khan" in aiding the mutineers. Bourquien tells us that the Nawab "took advantage of the state of feeling which existed, and raised a revolt amongst the troops, in concert with the old commandant Liégeois." Mr. Brajendranath Banerji, in his *Begam Samru* (Calcutta, 1925, pp. 47-8), though he does not make use of Bourquien's autobiography, quotes from Captain William Francklin's *Military Memoir of Mr. George Thomas* (Calcutta, 1803, pp. 31-3): "Levasso who had the chief command of the Begam's army was jealous of the authority of Legois. . . He [Legois] had been many years in habits of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Thomas, and on the present occasion had strenuously dissuaded the Begam from the proposed hostilities. This conduct, having given umbrage to Levasso, he by his influence with the Begam procured Legois' degradation; and to render his disgrace the more mortifying, his place was given to a junior officer. A conduct so inconsistent and unjust disgusted the soldiers, who for many years had been commanded by Legois, with whom they had often fought and conquered. They remonstrated, but in vain, against the measure: finding there was no hope of altering the Begam's resolution, they suddenly broke out into open mutiny."

We meet with no further contemporary mention of Legois, but Bourquien tells us that "poison rid her [the Begam] of the young Sombre and of Legois." His Christian name and some particulars of his family are however to be gleaned from the will made by David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre (the Begam's adopted son—see *Dictionary of National Biography*) on 25 June 1849. (This will was rejected by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in their judgement delivered on 1 July 1856 in the appeal in the case of *Dyce Sombre against Troup;* and I have taken the following details, except where otherwise stated, from the papers printed for that appeal). D. O. Dyce Sombre left Rs. 10,000 each to five of the sons of the late Captain Louis Legois, their names being John Peter, John, Charles, Francois and Joseph Legois. He also left Rs. 7,000 to Juliana, wife of John Peter Legois of Sardhana.

Amongst the appeal papers is a deposition sworn to at Meerut on 6 January 1853 by this John Peter Legois, described as aged 56 or thereabouts. In it he says that he was a captain in the service of the Begam, which he had left voluntarily some four or five years before her death (which occurred on 27 January 1836). He married the sister of George Thomas *alias* Joury [Jowruj, George] Jung, which George Thomas had died a little under four years before, leaving a widow and daughter. J. L. P. Legois went on to say that he was at present in straitened circumstances, as were two of his brothers : one of the other two brothers was in employment. He, John L. P. Legois, had been out of employment for five years; and for the last four years had been receiving an allowance of ten rupees a month from Padre Michael Angelo.

I have given some account of the family of General George Thomas in *Bengal : Past & Present,* vol. XLI, part II. It will be recalled that he had three sons and a daughter :—

1. John Thomas, married the daughter of Aga Wanus, an Armenian in the Begam's service : they had no issue.
2. Jacob Thomas, married and had one son, George Thomas III.
3. George Thomas II, married and had an only child, a daughter.
4. Juliana Thomas, married—, and had an only son Joseph, who died without issue at Agra.

The foregoing account of the Legois family gives the name, John Louis Peter Legois, of the husband of General George Thomas's only daughter ; and we have seen that the fathers of this couple were old friends. It also supplies the approximate date, *viz.*, early in 1849, of the death of the General's third son, George Thomas II *alias* Jowruj Jung, a sobriquet also sometimes attributed to his father.

In D. O. Dyce Sombre's diary for the years 1833-1836, which was also printed amongst the appeal papers, he gives some extracts from old pay-rolls of the Begam's which he had occasion to examine in the course of his duties at Sardhana. One extract showed that Jean Batiste Legois received pay at 110 rupees monthly till he was "killed by M. Birjoon" on 16 August 1819. This

must have been another son of Captain Louis Legois, but the manner of his death is a mystery. We may however note that one M. L. Birjon, who died at the age of 95 on 12 June 1864, is buried in the Padres Santos cemetery at Agra (see no. 134 of the monumental inscriptions which I have listed in *Bengal : Past & Present*).

I may take this opportunity of adding a few notes on General George Thomas's sons, gleaned from the same appeal papers, and supplementary to those given in Vol. XLI of *Bengal: Past and Present.*

The wife of John Thomas, the eldest son, was named Joanna, as we learn from the Begam's will. Her father, Aga Wanus (given also as Awanis, Awanus or Abanis—all of which are perhaps variants of Johannis) is described in the Begam's will (whereby he received a legacy of Rs. 5,000) as "now in my service as Collector of Burrow." This place is to be identified as Baraut (then spelt Burrowt) in the Gangetic Doab (see Banerji, p. 134). The Aga's sister, "Maria Polli", was also remembered by the Begam in her will, being left a thousand rupees. She is possibly the same person as the widow of Colonel Pauli of the Begam's service, which lady at some time previous to the year 1197 A.H. (1783-4 A.D.) had received a pension of fifty rupees a month from the Begam (Banerji, p. 208). She may also be identified with the "Madame Potli" (*sic*) "alias Toork Jung, it being his title" whose name D. O. Dyce Sombre found amongst the old pay-rolls as receiving fifty rupees a month. Pauli, a German, was decapitated in 1782 (Banerji, p. 17) and the pension was doubtless granted to his widow soon after his death.

Jacob Thomas, the General's second son, is described in the Begam's will (executed 16 December 1831) as "now a captain in my service." He seems to have died in 1845, for in a letter from Paris, dated 18 March 1846, D. O. Dyce Sombre writes to Major Antonio Reghelini at Sardhana: "When did Jack Sahib *alias* Jacob Thomas die, and where is his son George, and what is become of his widow?" In a further letter, dated 26 November 1846, to the same correspondent, Dyce Sombre writes: "I am in receipt of your letters of the 3rd and 16th September, one of which enclosed a letter from George Thomas son of the late Jacob Thomas; from his letter it appears that he has been obliged to quit the service of the Lahore Raj." It would appear that Jacob Thomas left the Begam's service shortly before her death, for D.O. Dyce Sombre's diary for 4 August 1835 contains the entry: "Jack sent in his resignation, which was accepted of by H. H." According to Messrs. Grey and Garrett's *European Adventurers in Northern India* (Lahore, 1929, p. 319) it was not till March 1838 that Jacob Thomas entered Ranjit Singh's service; and the letter of 28 November 1846, quoted above, shows that his son George Thomas (III) followed in his footsteps by serving the Sikhs.

George Thomas II, the General's third son, *alias* Jowruj Jung, was left Rs. 7,000 by the Begam and Rs. 36,000 in D. O. Dyce Sombre's rejected will of 1849, from which we may conclude that he was alive in that year. His

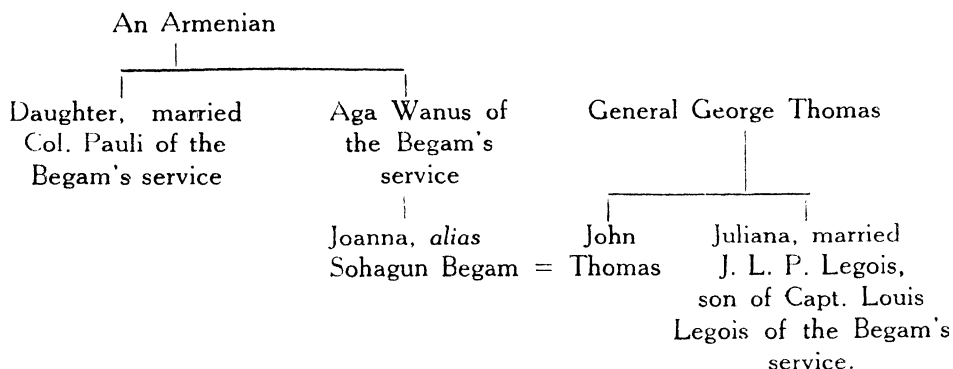
wife (name left blank) was similarly left Rs. 14,000 by Dyce Sombre. In Dyce Sombre's diary, on 15 April 1835, he mentions (1) "Pedron's daughter, Mrs. George Thomas" as being at Sardhana, so either George Thomas II, George Thomas III, or George Thomas IV (for whom see below) evidently married one of the exceedingly numerous progeny of Colonel E. Pedron of Scindia's service, of whom I have given an account in *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XLIII, part I (1).

Besides his four legitimate children by his wife Maria, General George Thomas is generally understood to have left other issue whose legal status was doubtful. The appeal papers give a clue to the identity of one or two of these latter. In a deposition sworn to by Joseph Skinner "of the City of Delhi in Hindustan, Esquire", aged 45, on 10 January 1853 (a son of the redoubtable Colonel James Skinner, C.B.) he says that "George Thomas [II] *alias* Jowruj Jung, George Thomas [III] the son of Jacob Thomas, and George Thomas [whom we may call IV] the half-brother of one John Thomas, were the descendants of one George Thomas [I] who was the Chief of the territory of Hurrianah". Major Antonio Reghelini deposed to the same effect and in practically the same words. There can be little doubt that this George Thomas IV was the son, by some other consort than his wife Maria, of General George Thomas. And in a letter from Dyce Sombre to his brother-in-law Peter Paul Marie Solaroli, dated London, 4 April 1842, he says that he has just returned from Bath, where "I saw poor John Thomas's half-sister. I enclose her writing, which the brother might like to see."

The subjoined table shows the relationship between three of the Begam's early commanders-in-chief, Pauli, Legois and Thomas. The marriage of a Thomas with a Pedron connected these with Perron, Scindia's commander-in-chief, whose daughter Catherine (d. 1818, aged 33) married Colonel E. Pedron. Through Perron the relationship extended to the two Sutherland brothers and to the two Hessings, father and son, as well as into the Derridon family with its many ramifications amongst the military adventurers. And the Pedrons were connected with the Alexanders, and the Thomases with the Martins—both families which I have dealt with in this series of articles. The whole demonstrates the extent of the intermarriage in this curious society.

We may conclude by noting that when D. O. Dyce Sombre visited Berhampore on 20 January 1837, he made an attempt to find General George Thomas's grave. In his diary he wrote: "After breakfast went to the

(1) Dyce Sombre's diary records that "Poor Pedron" died on 13 Feb. 1834; and on 18 Feb. following there is an entry: "went in, for the first time, in poor Pedro[n]'s house in Khiowa [Khirwa], although he has been here since 1829." This may have been Lewis Pedron, 9th and youngest son of Col. E. Pedron, who is known to have died in 1834. On the day that "poor Pedron" died, the diary records that the Begam "promoted Pedron's son to a captaincy, and Paschal [Reghelini, son of Major Antonio Reghelini] to a lieutenancy"; but I cannot say which member of the Pedron family this was.

burying ground, on purpose to see George Thomas's tomb, who is buried here, but could not find it, though I searched for a long time."

XV. PIETRO PAULO MARIE SOLAROLI

As is well known, Solaroli, an officer in the service of the Begam Sombre, was married at Sardhana on 3rd October 1831 to Georgiana Dyce, daughter of Colonel George Alexander David Dyce of the Begam's service by his wife Juliana (*alias* Dominica Theresa), which Juliana was daughter of Walter Reinhardt "Sombre's" son "Nawab Zafaryab Khan" by his wife Julia Anna, daughter of Captain Louis Anthony Lefevre of the Begam's Service (2). On the same day and at the same place Georgiana Dyce's sister, Anna Maria, was married to Captain John Rose Troup of the Begam's Service and formerly of the Bengal Army.

Apart from the fact of his marriage little has however been known about Solaroli. I am now able to give some particulars of his career from a deposition sworn by him in London on 17th November 1853 (3). His age is then given as 55 years, so he was born about 1798.

He said: "I am a native of Piedmont. In the year 1823 I went to Egypt with the view of joining an expedition to Greece. That was defeated by the death of Lord Byron, and I then obtained from some British officers a recommendation and letters of introduction to go to India, to offer my services to the East India Company, who then accepted the services of officers not connected with a government having possessions in India. Thus recommended, I went to Calcutta, where I was advised to proceed to Sardhana, to take service with the Begam Sombre, which I did; arriving at Sardhana on 1st January 1831. My first appointment there, and that within a few days on my arrival, was to the command of her bodyguard. . . . My personal acquaintance with the sisters of the deceased (David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre) began by my being sent with a guard of honour to conduct

(2) See *e.g.* *Begam Samru*, by Brajendranath Banerji, Calcutta, 1925, p. 189; and *The Sardhana Pictures*, by Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Allahabad, 1934, *passim*. The month of the marriage is incorrectly given as August by Mr. Banerji.

(3) Printed with other papers in the suit of *Dyce Sombre against Troup* for the appeal to the Privy Council (decided 1856).

them from Delhi to Sardhana, where I was married to Georgiana, now Baroness Solaroli, on 3rd October 1831; the other sister, Ann, being married on the same day to Captain Troup. . .

In the first instance, I was, as I have said, Commander of the Begam's bodyguard. Four or five months after, still retaining that appointment, I was made the head Police Magistrate of the province of Sardhana. Afterwards, the Chief Magistrate, first of half, then of all her territory. After my marriage, having given up the command of her bodyguard, I was put in charge of the management and control of the Customs and Revenue. These were all situations of high trust and honour. [The Begam died on 27 January 1836 : her army was broken up and her territories reverted to the British]. I came to Europe in May, 1843. I arrived in Turin in the following December. A few months after, I received from H. M. the King of Sardinia, whose natural-born subject I am, the rank of Colonel of Engineers. Some time after that, *viz.*, at the end of 1844, I received from H. M. a patent of nobility, constituting me a Baron of the Kingdom, and entailing that honour upon my descendants. In the beginning of 1848 I was made Colonel of the Staff of the second corps of the Army. At the end of 1848 I was made a major-general. In the campaign of 1849 I commanded a division of the Reserve. After the battle of Novara in that year, I was made aide-de-camp to the King. In August 1849 I was one of two Commissaries (the Duke of Masserano being the other) appointed by the present King to take charge of the remains of the late King, and conduct them from Portugal to Turin. In November 1849 I was employed on a financial mission to England. In Feb. 1850 I was sent on a diplomatic mission to Switzerland, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia and elsewhere. Whilst in England I was chosen to represent my native town in parliament. . ."

The latest mention of Solaroli which I have found occurs in the diary of Lady Login, printed in *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* (London, 1890, p. 388). At Turin, on 2 May 1857, she records : "Reached Turin last evening. Baron Solaroli found us out, and came and spent the evening with us. Sir John knew him in India ; he married a sister of Dyce Sombre's, and of course has got lots of money with her. He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man." And on the next day : "Baron Solaroli came, with his daughter, a pretty young woman, married to Count—. The Baron will bring his wife to meet us at the train tomorrow, as she is not well, and could not come to call."

We gain some further information as to his early career from a deposition made by Major Antonio Reghelini : "I am well acquainted with Peter Paul Marie Solaroli. He is my countryman. I sent for him from Calcutta. . . He was an overseer at an indigo factory in Bengal before he took service with the Begam."

When we come to Dyce Sombre's version, or rather versions, of Solaroli's career, we are by no means on sure ground. He never got on with his brother-in-law, and from 1843 onwards they were at daggers drawn. Dyce Sombre impugned the legitimacy of Madame Solaroli, and to cut short a story

too long to be gone into here, he went out of his way to insult the Solarolis on every possible occasion. In a letter written to Major Antonio Reghelini on 2 October 1842, after he had left India but before he was adjudged insane, Dyce Sombre says that Solaroli came to Sardhana in the first instance to marry Reghelini's daughter, but Solaroli and Reghelini quarrelled. The former went away; but shortly afterwards returned to seek service with the Begam "and was lucky enough to obtain it, and after some time H. H. was pleased to make up the marriage."

In this there may be some truth, but Dyce Sombre's subsequent statements must be read with all reserve. In October 1849 he printed and circulated a libel, in English, French and Italian, purporting to be a memoir of Solaroli's career. It reads as follows :—

"MEMOIR.

In the year 1831, a person calling himself Peter Paul Murray Solaroli, an Italian, came with the intention of marrying a daughter of another Italian, in her late Highness the Begam Sombre's service, in the Upper Provinces of India. The father of the girl, making interest for him, got him the promise of a place in the said Begam's service ; but soon after, not being satisfied with his conduct, gave him a refusal as to the marriage. The mother of the girl begged for his being taken into the service again, who having some interest, [it] was granted. He then gave out that he was the son of a renowned general under Napoleon, gen. Leclerc, and, having become possessed of a small estate from a relation, had changed his name, and he himself had served under an English general in the late Spanish insurrections. He went so far as to bribe the said Begam's late physician, who corroborated his statements, so far as names, dates, and events went; and, through this physician making his interest with other English visitors, he gained his object, so far as to be allowed a seat at H. H.'s table, and, having given out such names as the French marechals of the Empire as his father's and his own associates, he was appointed to do duty with H. H.'s guards ; but he showed such ignorance of military duties that he was selected for another appointment. The police regulations of the Begam's territories (for the Begam exercised regal power within her own dominions) about that time being re-modelled, he was put over the chief district as head superintendent. He showed activity and some ability in this department, and having gained more interest, he was married to a natural daughter of Col. Dyce (who had asserted this himself) and who had formerly been in the Begam's service, and who had expectations of £8,000 at a future period. This marriage gave him some influence at the Begam's Court, for his wife was a natural or an illegitimate connection of the Begam's late husband. He soon after, upon the strength of his marriage, began to take bribes in settling disputes of an ordinary nature, which it was his duty to do. [Passage omitted as being too disgusting to print]. Such a specimen he gave of his civilised ideas that his appointment was soon after given to another person.

This Signor Solaroli was in a manner disgraced and put out of employ, but the public rumour stated that he had well filled his pocket in the meantime ; and to show the meanness of his spirit, while he was in office, his boy's wet-nurse received her salary as a convict employed in hard-labour for punishment, and the provisions for his table were supplied, as far as the country produce went, from the purchases made for H. H.'s household, the markets being under the superintendence of the police.

He behaved in the most rascally manner to the person whose daughter he had come to marry, for, while exercising the police authority, he, upon a trifling cause, had the head of a maidservant of the former's establishment shaved in his own presence, had her ridden on an ass, and sentenced to a long imprisonment, which, however, was remitted some time after, when it was brought to the notice of higher authorities.

In 1836 the Begam died, and left almost all her property to a connexion of hers, who had most part of his property sold by auctioneers. Signor Solaroli showed dexterity of a different nature in this affair, for on this occasion he bribed the servants, got some property stolen, and such other things as he could not easily take he broke the sets thereof, taking a part of them only ; and when the sets were put up for sale, they were naturally sold cheap, and bought in by Signor Solaroli himself. One instance was notorious, for he carried away a volume of Encyclopedia of great value at night, and, when these works were put up for sale he bought them himself at one-eighth of their value. He then received charge of the remaining affairs from the heir of the Begam, who was coming to Europe ; he robbed him of a quantity of wheat which had been stored by the late Begam for the use of her establishment, to the extent that it must have been enough for him and his family for three years.

He also robbed him of part of the armoury that was put up for sale, of which he has carried away a large quantity, and has brought it to Europe with him.

He sold a market for the heir of the Begam, in the district of Agra, for 3,000 rupees, and paid only 1,800.

He played the same kind of tricks at the sale of a great quantity of goods of all kinds held at Delhi, for native articles. He bought a house, which he got knocked down by bribing the auctioneers, with whom he had been acquainted before he came to the Begam's service.

It is said he is a Piedmontese, and his original name is Jean Lacaroli, and was obliged to quit the territories on account of his having joined with certain political parties who were against the government of the country* [Footnote : *Others say, and which appears to be more correct, that he shot his own father on the bridge at Milan, but contrived to save himself from being in the service of a foreign embassy, and so made his escape into Paris, where he acted for some time as a common cook at one of the restaurants of that city]. But this is certain, of which there are witnesses, and who have served the same master in different capacities, who were his associates, that he was a footman to the late Marquis of Hertford, of whom

he has boasted that he had such confidence in him that he used to rob his Lordship's provisions and money, and used to insinuate to his master that his valet must have been the robber, who in return did not suspect him, but patronised and indulged him in his recreations.

In the beginning of the year 1837 he went down to Calcutta on business for his patron, the Begam's heir, and there actually saw his wife's father die before he would give him the annuity which the Begam's heir had settled upon him, and which was to be paid through him ; for he would not make a will in favour of Signor Solaroli's wife, which he wished him to do, and so the poor old man died from broken heart more than anything else.

This very Signor Solaroli had the impudence to write to the King of Sardinia, stating that he was employed under the said Begam, and had a high military command and a high civil office, and sent the drawing of a church, built by another Italian, his first intended father-in-law, of which he said he was the architect, and had drawn the sketch himself, by which means he was made a Colonel in the King of Sardinia's service, in the corps of Engineers, while the facts are that he is almost illiterate. As to the drawing, he does not know even how to hold a pencil; but he has been cunning enough to learn something about mining under the English Sappers and Miners quartered at Delhi, for which purpose he gave the officers the loan of one of his employer's houses for their mess. He has been made a Baron by the same sovereign, by representing that his wife was related to the Begam, which was not the case. The Begam never had a family of her own; he never had military charge under her, more than his doing duty with her foot guards for a few months, where he showed no capacity ; and no more civil, excepting as supervisor, or an overseer of the new police, and receiver of revenues of one of her districts, where he robbed and oppressed the people so much that he was replaced soon after. Now he has taken up his residence with his ill-begotten wealth at or near Milan, and is trying his best endeavours to prove that his wife's family is insane, and consequently his children are heirs to all that they possess. Sometimes he says that his wife's eldest sister is no relation of his wife's ; but this he was obliged to disavow at the British Embassy, two or three years ago, where there were witnesses to prove the falsehood. Her late Highness the Begam was so disgusted with his conduct, that in her will, she did not so much as mention his name. The reason why a brother-in-law of his is not mentioned in her will is, that he received a large compensation in lieu of it in her lifetime.

FINIS

Printed by E. Brière,
55 Rue St. Anne, Paris."

Solaroli sued the printer of this libel, and received small damages. To this curious document Dyce Sombre subsequently added that Solaroli's real name was Jean Muscat, and that he had been a servant of a Signor Salvi in India, at ten rupees a month.

Solaroli never denied that his origin was humble (4) ; but he was evidently an able and likeable person. To this fact we have the independent testimony of Lady Login, already quoted, as well as the deposition of Captain James Rodgers, late H. M. 26th Cameronians, in the appeal papers. "In the year 1832", he said, "and the two or three following years, I was stationed with my regiment the 26th Cameronians at Meerut. . . . I knew Solaroli to be, in every respect, a most correct, honest, gentlemanly little fellow, as honourable a man as lives. I never heard a word against him before; he was favourite with all our Mess in India ; he was highly esteemed, and bore the most unexceptionable character among all in the country, both natives and Europeans." Dyce Sombre's attempt to blacken Solaroli's character need not therefore be taken seriously, and those who believe that Dyce Sombre was mad may ascribe it to insanity rather than to malice.

XVI. KEMPT LAUZUN

The following passage occurs in a letter from Sir John Shore to Henry Dundas, received by the latter in July 1794, and printed in *The Private Record of a Governor-Generalship*, edited by Holden Furber (Harvard, 1933, pp. 39-40) :—

> "Many Officers have of late resigned the Army, and have engaged in different professions. This is a Matter of no Consequence, unless the precedent should produce an extensive Imitation. But there is an example of another nature which I deem of a much more dangerous Tendency, I mean that of Duboigne (sic) who commands Sindia's Army. He has many Europeans under him, English amongst the rest. Duboigne was formerly an Officer on the Madras Establishment, which he quitted and came to Bengal an Adventurier (sic). Some years ago an Officer of the Name of Lazun (sic) on this [Bengal] Establishment left the Army to try his fortunes in Hindustan. He was interested by Major Polier to establish his Authority over a Jagheer assigned to him by the King ; he had collected a very excellent Corps, and his success at first was great, but he lost the Fruits of it with his life by too great a Contempt for the Enemy."

The reference is to Lieutenant Kempt Lauzun of the Bengal Infantry, concerning whom Major V. C. P. Hodson has kindly supplied the following details. He was appointed a cadet in England on 2 July 1768, for the Bengal Artillery, but transferred to the Infantry and was commissioned as ensign on 26 January 1769. On 25 May 1770 he was promoted lieutenant ; resigned the service on 8 January 1776 and entered the employ of Mirza Najaf Khan of Delhi. He was killed in the defence of Delhi in 1777.

There appear to be no references to this officer in any of the literature of the military adventurers.

H. BULLOCK.

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(4) "He was born in a humble station. I knew him in London in the latter part of the year 1823" : deposition of Professor Antonio Ronna of Paris.

Hickey's Houses in Calcutta.

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(1) "Shortly after my return (on December 24, 1777, after a severe illness) to Colonel Watson's ("at the docks" in the upper part of Garden Reach) he told me that my shipmate, Cleveland (an assistant Surgeon with whom Hickey had come out in the *Plassey*) had more than once expressed a wish that we would join and live together in a very good house he had taken, which, from its vicinity to the Court House, would suit me admirably. To this proposal I readily agreed. I found the house delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, open to the southward and eastward: and commanding an extensive view both up and down the river: to which it was close. The only reasonable objection that could be made was its being *cutcha*, that is built with mud instead of mortar. Formerly the greater part of the buildings in Bengal were of that description, whereas there is now hardly one to be seen throughout Calcutta, being replaced by well constructed masonry. For this house we agreed to pay three hundred sicca rupees, or thirty seven pounds ten shillings a month. Pott undertook to put it into a proper condition for us, which he did but at an expense of nearly one thousand pounds. On the 6th of January (1778) we became joint householders." (Vol. II, pp. 133-134).

(2) "Mr. Cleveland and I continued joint housekeepers until the middle of April (1778) when I determined upon dissolving our partnership and took a house for myself which was then finishing." (Vol. II, p. 156).

(3) "On the 10th of May, 1778, I went into my new house which belonged to Thomas Motte, Esqr., then a respectable and considered a very opulent man." (Vol. II, p. 172). The locality is not indicated.

(4) "In the middle of August (1782) I succeeded in getting a capital house in a central part of the town, and not far distant from the Court House, which was particularly desirable to me who was obliged to attend there daily in the execution of my business as an attorney. It was the property of an old woman, a Mrs. Brightman who let it to me at three hundred sicca rupees a month, I binding myself to pay at that rate of rent for one year certain." (Vol. III, p. 154).

(5) "In the month of July (1784) a house upon the Esplanade, the best and most airy situation in Calcutta, becoming vacant, I had the good fortune to procure it and immediately took possession. The building itself was very old and in a decayed state, but the beauty of the view from it, and its vicinity to the Court House made it a most desirable residence for me." (Vol. III, p. 236).

(6) "The house I inhabited upon the Esplanade now became so bad (1789) as to render it dangerous, being liable to fall every north-wester. I

therefore gave my landlord notice I should quit it at the end of the month. He thereupon called to say he found me so excellent a tenant, he wished to retain me, and if I would go into another mansion of his, he would pull down the house I left and rebuild it according to any plan I chose. I accepted the offer by inhabiting a very capital house belonging to him in Council House Street. The very day I left the old one he sent in workmen to commence pulling it down." (Vol. III, pp. 342-343).

(7) "In March 1790 my new mansion being finished and very handsome I removed into it. I furnished it in such a style as gained universal approbation and acquired me the reputation of possessing great taste. The principal apartments were ornamented with some immense looking-glasses, also with a number of beautiful pictures and prints, forming altogether a choice and valuable collection. The expence was enormous, but as I looked only to pleasant times, having no idea that I should ever be able to lay up a fortune, I was indifferent about the price of things, purchasing every article I felt any inclination for. When completed my house was pronounced to be the most elegantly fitted up of any in Calcutta and in fact there was no one like it. Some of my facetious acquaintances christened it 'Hickey's picture and print warehouse.' " Vol. III, pp. 357-358).

NOTE—It is to be regretted that no particulars are supplied of Hickey's "pictures and prints." But we know (Vol. III, p. 326) that he won at a raffle in 1787 four landscapes by Joseph Farington which had been brought out to Calcutta by the second mate of the *Deptford* Indiaman. Hickey also tells us (Vol. III, pp. 327, 342) that he not only subscribed himself but "procured many other names" to Thomas Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta," (published in 1786-88) and that he sent a set home to his brother in the beginning of 1789.

(8) The landlord of my Calcutta house, whose name was Robertson, of a Portuguese family (but who had a brother that commanded one of the Company's ships and who from his dark complexion and peculiar features was distinguished in the service by the title of "Malay" Robertson), having extracted from me considerably more rent than the premises I held of him were considered worth, or than any person except myself would submit to pay, my friends frequently upbraided me with the folly of submitting to be imposed upon by allowing an unconscionable charge. I therefore called upon Robertson for an abatement, and remarking the advantage that attended having a fixed and permanent tenant, I offered to pay him four hundred sicca rupees a month, so long as I should continue in India, or until my death. The rent I had previously paid was four hundred and fifty sicca rupees monthly. Robertson in his answer admitted I had always been an excellent tenant of his by regularly discharging the rent on the first of every month, but still he could not afford to lower the rent from the immense sum he had disbursed in finishing the building in a most superb manner and which he had done purely to gratify me . . . . . I resolved to look out for another residence, and in March following 1794 closed with Sir Robert Chambers the Chief Justice, for his elegant mansion built by Mr. Thomas Lyon, out of the

very best materials. It had to me, as an officer of the Court, the great advantage of being situated immediately behind the Court House, with which it had a door of communication, so that I could at any time when my presence was required either in Court or in the Sheriff's office to be there in two minutes from my own apartment. This capital house was certainly one of the best in Calcutta, I took on lease for five years at four hundred and fifty sicca rupees a month, I being bound to keep it in tenantable repair. Upon the first of April (1794) I entered upon it to the great disappointment of my former landlord, who had no idea I would ever leave him. When convinced that I really intended it, he expressed his unfeigned concern, offering to let me have the house for four hundred rupees a month, but it was then too late. (IV. 115-117).

Opposite p. 117 are Hickey's sketches of the house when he leased it with a verandah on the first floor and the other showing the verandahs which he added on the second and third floors. The alteration cost upwards of Rs. 10,500 sicca.

Calcutta Gazette Thursday October 7, 1786.

(9) Stolen out of the house of Mr. William Hickey on the Esplanade, on Wednesday night, the 29th August. Five Prints, two of them Views in America or the West Indies in green and gold frames, two in oval gilt frames belonging to the set of the Sorrows of Werter and the other two females called Expectation. Any person who discovers the thief or will return the pictures shall receive Five Gold Mohur reward.

(10) Advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazettee" of Thursday, December 24, 1807.

Valuable

PROPERTY

To be sold by Public Auction,

BY TULLOH AND COMPANY,

On Monday the 25th January 1808,

At his house adjoining

The Supreme Court,

The

TRULY ELEGANT

PROPERTY

Of

WILLIAM HICKEY ESQ.

Returning to Europe ;

Consisting chiefly of

An extensive side-board of fashionable Plate—Diamond and other valuable jewellery—Valuable and scarece Paintings, and Engravings, in rich gold bur-

nished frames—Superb Pier Looking Glass—Swing, Toilette and Dressing ditto—Concave and convex Mirrors—A great variety of useful and Ornamental Glass ware Queen's-ware and China-ware—A good collection of valuable and scare Books—Stationary, assortment—A valuable Camera Obscura—A neat and complete Copying Machine—Fire and Side Arms—A Terrestrial Globe—A capital full sized mahogany Billiard Table, in very good order, with Maces, Queus, &c. &c.—A fine toned Chamber Organ, and a valuable Eight-day Table

Clock—Cooking Utensils &c. &c. &c.

Likewise,

A great variety of the best

FURNITURE,

Amongst which are,

Very elegant solid mahogany Dining, Breakfast, Pembroke, Card, and other Tables—A valuable and highly finished treble mahogany Library—A pair of elegant mahogany Book Cases, with glazed doors, and silk curtains—Mahogany Wardrobes, Bureaus, Secretaries, and Chest of Drawers—Mahogany and other Bedsteads, of sizes with Bedding &c. &c.—Settee and other Couches—Side Boards—Chairs and Teapoys, a variety—Mahogany and other Wash hand

Stands.

And

Various other

ARTICLES

OF

Useful Furniture;

Also

A stock of the best

of

LIQUORS

And

Several articles

of

OFFICE FIXTURES;

Consisting of

Writing Tables, with Drawers—Pigeon Holes and Book-Cases—Paper Presses

&c.

Also

HIS BUGGY AND HORSES

viz,

A remarkably neat full pannell Buggy, built to order, by Stewart and Morrison, and furnished in the first style, on C, Spiral, and grass hopper springs with

Hood, Wings and Lamps, and lined throughout with blue Marocco; together with a very handsome steady good going Bay Acheen Poney, and a fashionable

plated mounted Harness,

A very handsome, shewy, fine tempered bay Saddle Horse, with Saddle and

Bridle,
A ditto bay Buggy Poney,
A ditto bay Saddle Poney,
and

A grey Carriage Horse, formerly one of a pair, and full 14 hands high,

Likewise,
HIS PALANKEENS
viz,

A very elegant Chair Palankeen, with Lamps and glazed throughout, built to order, by Stewart and Co. and finished in the first style.

A fashionable Mehanna, built by ditto and as good as new, with Lamps &c. extremely neat and complete.

A very good ditto, with ditto.

And
Various Other
ARTICLES.

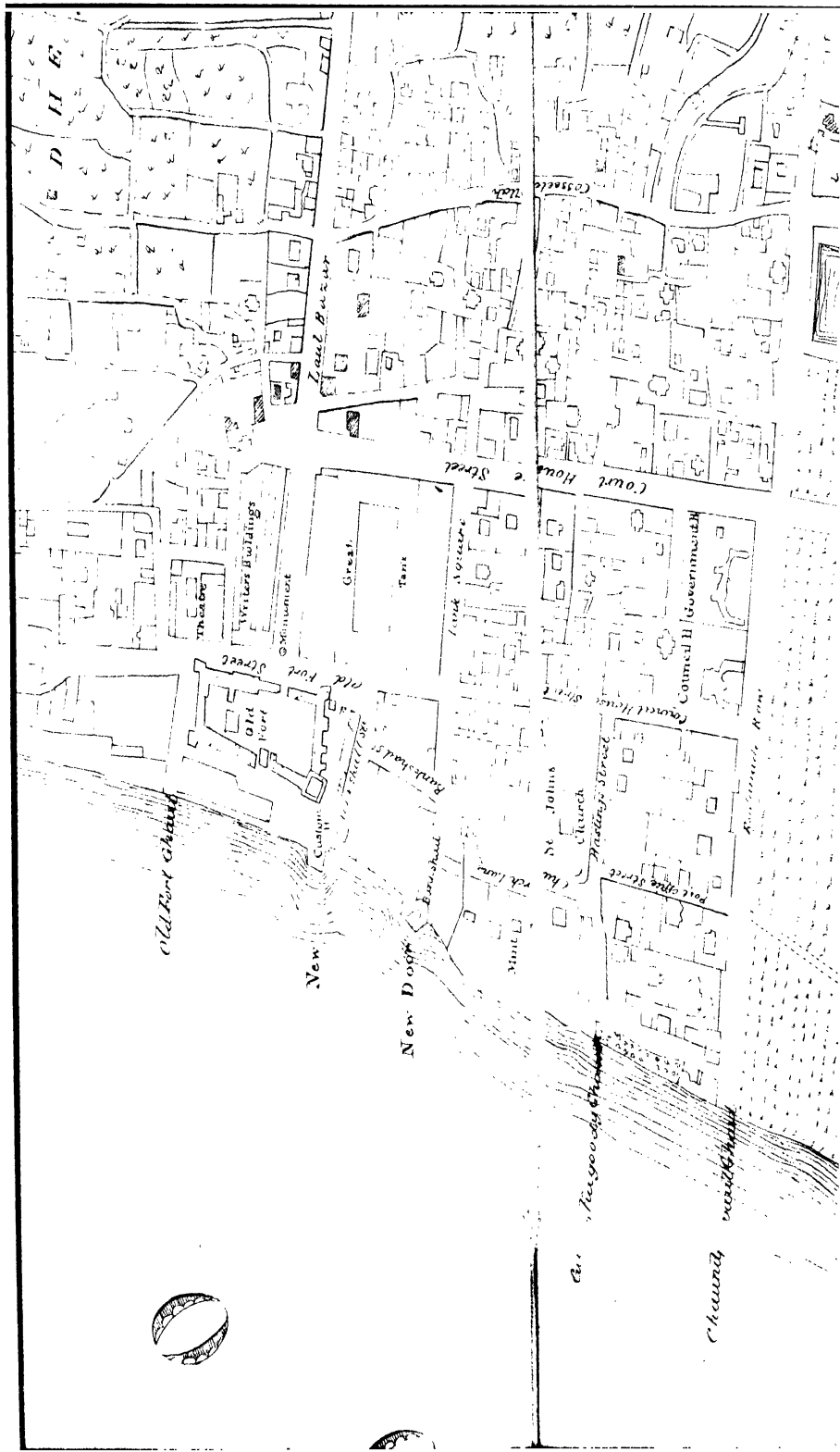
Particulars of which will be fully detailed in Catalogues on the Day of Sale, when all orders will meet with every attention.

All the Horses are of a most generous temper, and believed sound.

NOTE—A *Mehanna* or *Myannah* was a middle sized palanquin. In Seton Karr's *Selections* from the *Calcutta Gazette* (Vol. I, p. 49) an advertisement is given of the offer for sale in 1784 of "an entirely new myannah, painted and gilt, lined with orange silk, and with curtains and bedding complete." It seems to have been a Calcutta speciality: cf: *Bombay Courier* for May 16, 1795: "For sale, an Elegant Fashionable New Meanna from Calcutta."

(11) This advertisement is repeated in the "Calcutta Gazettee" of January 21, 1808. In the issue of January 28, Messrs. Tulloh and Co. "respectfully acquaint the public" that the sale is postponed until Monday February 8 "when it will take place at Mr. Hickey's house, adjoining the Court House." The notice of postponement re-appears on February 4.

NOTE—The name of "Mr. William Hickey, attorney at law" is given in a "correct list of Passengers proceeding to Europe by the Hon'ble Company's ship *Castle Eden*, Captain Richard Colnett," which is printed in the "Calcutta Gazette" of February 18, 1808. Hickey's fellow-passengers (11 male adults, 2 ladies, 8 girls and 7 boys) included Moonshee Mirza Khuleel, who was "proceeding to England for the

purpose of instructing the students at Hertford College," the fore-runner of Haileybury, "in the Hindoostannee Language." The *Castle Eden* (818 tons) left the Sandheads in the company of six other Indiamen, and reached her home moorings on August 18, 1808.

SECTION OF UPJOHN'S MAP, 1790.

Calcutta Streets and Houses in 1789.

UNPUBLISHED SKETCHES AND NOTES

By William Hickey.

INTRODUCTION.

HITHERTO the locality or site of the "garden house, a short distance from town", inhabited by George Francis Grand and his "recent-acquired consort" has not been determined. But the "incident" took place at Grand's house "in town". During the hearing of the *crim. con.* case George Francis Grand *v.* Philip Francis it was stated that Grand's 'red house' adjoined one occupied by Page Keble[1] and that its western door "looked towards" the house of Mr. Ducarel.[2]

We are indebted to the Misses Catherine and Evelyn Ouless and Mrs. Robert Hayne (great great grand-daughters of Sir Robert Chambers)" for permission to reproduce a water-colour sketch of Old Court House Street (running southwards from the Old Court House to the Esplanade), by William Hickey, depicting the houses standing in 1789, one of which, Hickey states, was the house "Mr. Francis made his *entree* into, which cost him 50,000 Rs."

Hickey was in Calcutta at the time of the trial (1779) and knew Grand. There seems to be no reason for doubting his statement, which fits in well with the few facts we know. Apparently Francis walked to Grand's house from his own "behind the Playhouse" in Lyon's Range ;—which was within easy walking distance from Old Court House Street. In Hickey's sketch of that street, the house indicated as inhabited by Grand and his wife is coloured dull red.

The sketch is one of twelve, signed William Hickey, made by him, it would seem, by the aid of a camera obscura, from Thomas Daniell's "Views of Calcutta, 1786-88", except that some of the details in the latter are omitted. On the back of each sketch are notes relating to the various houses and buildings and their occupants. The sketch which we reproduce is No. 12 of the series.

Hickey tells us that he had lessons in art, and occupied himself in making a "chaste and highly finished sketch of his friend, Mr. Symmons's, house and garden at Battersea." It will be remembered that previous to his departure from India, his shipmate in the *Plassey* and lifelong friend, Jacob Rider, wrote to him—'as you were once a famous draughtsman possibly you may

have a useful case of mathematical instruments which you could leave with me, or any book of rare drawings.' We are not surprised, therefore, to find that sketches are excellent specimens of good draughtsmanship, and that Hickey could claim to have some artistic ability.

It may be assumed that Hickey intended to send the sketches to the gentleman who aspired to the hand of Miss Sophia Auriol.[4] It is thought, however, that he presented them to Sir Robert Chambers before or after the latter's departure from Calcutta, when Hickey rented Sir Robert's house in Calcutta.[5]

In *Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. xxiv, pp. 182-3, there is a list of the 'Twelve Views of Calcutta' which were brought out by Thomas Daniell in 1786-88. They are reproduced in Corfield's *Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days,* pp. 38-43, numbered 47-58, corresponding with Hickey's Sketches 11, 4, 3, 2, 5, 8, 1, 10, 12, 7, 9, and 6. The titles in the list have been inserted at the head of Hickey's Notes and are copied exactly as written and punctuated.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Captain Page Keble. Master Attendant, Bengal, 1765. Subsequently (1776) Marine Storekeeper. His son, George Gilbert Keble (baptised at Calcutta March 15, 1776), entered the Madras Civil Service, became Secretary to Government and Postmaster General and died at Cuddalore on August 25, 1811. (Monument in St. Mary's Church, Fort Saint George) On the occasion of the invasion of Grand's house by Philip Francis, "Mr. Keble asked from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the cause of the disturbance." He is mentioned in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 10, 1787: "Mrs. Page Keble is we hear shortly to be married to Mr. Charles Wilkins. Mr. Keble altered his Will on his passage home and left everything in favour of his wife." (Wilkins is the famous Oriental scholar). This was his second wife, Elizabeth Metham, whom he married on July 3, 1782.

2. Gerard Gustavus Ducarel. Son of Adrian Colté and Elizabeth Ducarel, of the Parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, London, born 15 April 1745 and baptized 3 May 1745.

Arrived Writer, 16 July 1765: Deputy Paymaster to the 1st Brigade, 1766: Assistant to the Cashkeeper, 1767; Persian Translator to the Resident at the Durbar, 1768: Factor and Supervisor, Purnea, 1770: Collector, Purnea, 1772: Junior merchant, 1773: Member of Revenue Council, Dinājpur, 1774: Fourth member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 1775: Senior Merchant and Superintendent of the Khalsa 1776: Commissioner, Burdwan, 1782: Out of the service, 1788. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1800 reports his death in that year at Stilton on his way to London. In later times he and George Livius were contemptuously described by Hastings as "the lees of Francis". He was very much concerned in Francis' raid on Grand's house and gave evidence at the trial.

3. Sir Robert Chambers—Robert Joseph Chambers—Thomas King Chambers, whose daughter, Lucy Maitland Chambers, married W. W. Ouless, R.A., in 1878. Robert Joseph Chambers, who was a godson of Philip Francis, was baptized at Calcutta on July 18, 1779. Chambers retired in 1799 and died in Paris in 1803.

4. Hickey sent a set of Daniell's 'Views' to his brother. Possibly the latter was acquainted with Sophia Auriol, before she and her sister sailed for India in 1779?

5. *Memoirs,* Vol. IV, pp. 116-7.

1

PART OF CHERINGHEE

Hickey's Notes.

This is a view of a part of Calcutta, called Cheringee, the whole has been built within the last twelve years, it extends a mile and half further than this view, and all noble houses.

1. Is a house belonging to the Estate of the late Charles Short Esqr.[1]
2. A house belonging to Capt. Collins,[2] the military Store keeper. Coll : Murray[3] lives in it.

3 and 4. Both belong to Coll : Wood.[4] Mr. Dawson[5] lives in one, the other empty.

5. Sir Charles Blount's.[6]
6. Mr. Hay's[7] (the Secretary General) occupied by the Honble. Mr. Chas. Stuart.[8]
7. A house at present occupied by Coll : Mordaunt,[9] the Elder brother of *Henry's*.[10]
8. A house occupied by Mr. T. Grant, Garrison paymaster.[11]
9. Now untenanted, Jacob Rider,[12] lately lived in it.
10. Houses on the Esplanade.

Cheringee commences at the East End of the Esplanade, that is the most distant from the river.

Wm. Hickey, Calcutta, December 1st, 1789.

Editor's Notes.

1. Charles Short. Free merchant. Died, Calcutta, 3 July 1785, after 20 years' residence there. Owner of Short's Bazaar and gave his name to Short Street (*Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. XXV, p. 151.)

2. John Ulric Collins. Colonel, 19th Native Infantry. Resident at Lucknow. Known as "King" Collins. Cadet, 1769: Ensign, 26 July 1769: Lieutenant, 17 November 1772: Captain, 20 November 1780: Major, 1794: Lieutenant-Colonel, 27 July 1796: Colonel, 29 May 1800: Died, Lucknow, 11 June 1807. Married, Calcutta, 24 November 1790, Miss Charlotte Wrangham (probably daughter of William Wrangham, Member of Council at St. Helena. She died, London, 5 February 1857, aged 84). Hodson's *Officer of the Bengal Army,* 1758-1834.

3. Either Colonel Peter Murray, Adjutant-General at the time or Colonel John Murray, Military Auditor-General.

PETER MURRAY (d. 1803). Lieut. Colonel, 1st Native Infantry. Adjt. Gen. Bengal. Country Cadet 1771. Admitted 11 Jan. 1771. Ensign 9 Mar.

1773. Lieut. 27 Mar. 1778. Capt. 18 Oct. 1781. Major 30 Oct. 1797. Lt. Col. 21 Apr. 1800. Died at sea off Ferrol 14 Aug. 1803: Killed on board the *Lord Nelson* in action with the French frigate *Bellona*. 3rd son of Evan Murray. Brother of Robert Murray Macgregor and of Alexander Murray (1746-1822). Married Eliza Tuting*. (She re-married Mar. 1808, Lt. Col. Wilkinson Lister Kaye, late 21st Light Dragoons).

Services: Is said to have gone out to India originally as a Surgeon's Mate.† "On his passage he was insulted by one of the officers of the ship, to whom, after his arrival in India, he sent a challenge, which the other did not think proper to accept. The Government however, seeing that he was a young man of spirit, offered him a commission in their service, which he accepted, ..." (*Monthly Magazine*). First Rohilla War; battle of St. George. A. D. C. to Bdr.-Gen. Giles Stibbert, 1780-3, A. G. Bengal (with official rank of Lt. Col.) 16 May 1786 till 1797. Capt. 3rd Bengal Eur. Regt. in 1796. Furlough 18 Jan. 1797 till 8 Jan. 1801. Major 12th N. I. Posted as Lt. Col. to 2/1st N. I. 21 Apr. 1800. Furlough 7 Mar. 1803 till death. "He is supposed to have accumulated a fortune of not less than £200,000." (*Monthly Magazine*).

Alternately his brother Sir John Murray Macgregor, first baronet. (1745-1822). Lieut. Colonel. 15th N. I. Mily-Auditor General. Born 10 Apr. 1745. Cadet 1770. Admitted 17 Oct. 1770. Ensign 13 Nov. 1771. Lieut. 28 July 1776. Capt. 21 Feb. 1781. Major 1 Mar. 1794. Lt. Col. 31 Aug. 1798. Retired 12 Feb. 1799. Died Portobello, Edinburgh, 29 June 1822. 1st Bart., of Lanrick and Balquhidder. cr. 3 July 1795. J.P. and D.L. co. Perth. Eldest son of Evan Murray (Macgregor) and Janet his wife, youngest daughter of John MacDonald, of Balcony. Resumed the original surname of the family by Royal Licence in 1822. Brother of Peter Murray. Married, Murshidabad 10 Apr. 1775, Anne dau. of Roderick Macleod, of Bernera. (She died 5 Feb. 1830.)

Services: "Bred to the law." Posted as Ensign to 2nd Bengal Eur. Regt. and apptd. Dy. Judge Advocate to 2nd Bde. at Berhampore in Nov. 1771. Apptd. Mily. Sec. and A.D.C. to Col. A. Champion, 19 Jan. 1774. First Rohilla War; battle of St. George; Ensign 2nd Eur. Regt., Mily. Sec. Sec. to the Board of Ordnance in Calcutta 1776-80; Comy. Gen. 1780-5. Fur. 21 Feb. 1786 till 27 Aug. 1788. Mily. Auditor Gen. (with official rank of Col.) 1789-96. Senior Member of the Mily. Board. Major 3rd Bengal Eur. Regt. in 1796; Lt. Col. 15th N. I. in 1798. Furlough 18 Jan. 1797 till retirement. (Information supplied by Major V. C. P. Hodson.)

4. Colonel Mark Wood, aft. M.P., and Baronet (1747-1829). Joined the East India Company's military service, 1772: Surveyor-General, 1787: Chief Engineer in Bengal, 1790: returned to England, 1793. He surveyed Calcutta

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* *Note*: According to Mrs. Eliza Fay they were married at the house of Dr. Rowland Jackson in Calcutta, 27 Mar. 1782.

† *Note*: Col. Crawford is inclined to doubt the correctness of this statement in *Gentleman's Magazine*. (Information supplied by Major V. C. P. Hodson).

and the country on the banks of the Hûgli river to the sea, 1780-5. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 30 and Vol. XXX, p. 101.

5. *Matthew Dawson*. Writer, arrived 20 June 1766: Assistant under Export Warehouse-keeper, 1768: Assistant to the Supervisor, Birbhum and Pānchet, 1770: Factor, 1773: Junior merchant, 1774: Fifth Member of Council, Burdwān, 1776: Member of the Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1778: Senior merchant, 1778; Second in Council, Burdwān, 1779: Revenue Chief at Murshidābād, 1788: Died, in India, 1789.

6. Sir Charles Blunt (1731-1802). Writer, 1782: Factor, 1788: Junior merchant and Paymaster-General, 1799: Senior merchant, 1799. Son of Sir Henry Blunt, second Baronet, whom he succeeded in 1759. Died, 27 September 1802, near Calcutta, leaving £100,000, three-fourths of it to his eldest son, C. R. Blunt, fourth Baronet. Letters from him are among the Hastings papers in the British Museum. One of his daughters married Sir C. Imhoff, stepson of Warren Hastings.

7. Edward Hay. Writer, 1775: Factor and Sub-Secretary, General Department and Agent for the manufacture of powder, 1782: also Secretary, Secret Department, 1783: Senior merchant and Secretary to Government, 1788. Out of the Service in 1800. He married Eliza Serena Wagstaff on February 22, 1782, and his widow married Lt.-Gen. Allexander Kyd (1754-1826) at Clifton, Bristol, on November 10, 1804.

8. The Hon. Charles Stuart. Arrived in Bengal as Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor General and President of the Board of Trade, 1785: President of the Board of Revenue, 1789: Resigned his seat in Council, 21 January 1793, and embarked for England in the *Melville Castle*.

9. Colonel John Mordaunt, Madras Establishment. Honorary *aide-de-camp* to General Sir John Clavering: also (1782) to Warren Hastings. Employed on political duties at the Court of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. Died "lately on board his budgerow, near Chunar, Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt, natural brother to the Earl of Peterborough"—*Calcutta Gazette*, 11 November 1790.

His "Cock Match" with the Nawab has been immortalised by Zoffany. The *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, July 1834, contains an article—"Sporting anecdotes of the late Col. J. Mordaunt". See also *Bombay Courier*, 12 August and 16 September 1834. He was a boon companion of Hickey. Usually mentioned as the "eccentric Colonel Mordaunt".

Extract from the Company's Despatch to Madras 22 March 1771.

"Mr. John Mordaunt who we find held a Commission as Ensign on your Establishment, and whom you dismissed for Refusal of doing Garrison Duty at Fort St. George, lately petitioned to be restored And as he has expressed to us great Contrition for That Act of Disobedience, and has given the strongest assurances of his future Attention to his Duty, We have from those Assurances and considering his Youth and Inexperience, been induced to extend Our Lenity towards him, and do therefore restore him to the Rank in our military which he would have held had he not been so dismissed".

Extract from *The Bombay Courier*, 12 August, 1834.

On his arrival at Madras, John was received with open arms by all his countrymen ; but General Sir John Clavering, who was then commander-in-chief in India, and who was accordingly, second in council at Calcutta, having promised to provide for him, John went on to Bengal, where he was appointed an honorary aid-de-camp to that officer, still retaining his rank on the Madras establishment, where he was afterwards subjected to much ill and obloquy !

10. Captain Henry Mordaunt, Bengal Establishment. Cadet, 1772 : 2nd Lieutenant, 3 January 1773 Lieutenant 29 March 1777 : Captain, 25 March 1781. Died, Benares, 8 February 1791. Brother of Colonel John Mordaunt. Hickey's "London antagonist and *ci-devant* rival".

11. Robert Grant. Writer, 1779 : Junior merchant, 1788, Paymaster to the troops at the Presidency, and Berhampore, 20 February 1789 : Senior merchant, 1790 : the same duties at Fatehgarh, 1794 : Collector of Customs, Cawnpore, 1805 : Died, Mussoorie, 21 April 1830.

12. Jacoob Rider. Appointed Writer, 1762 : Arrived in Bengal, 14 July 1763 : Writer and Assistant in the Accountant's Office, 1765 : Deputy Commissary General, 1765 : Paymaster to the 1st Brigade 1766 : Factor and Supervisor, Malda 1772 : Second in Council, Kāsimbāzār, 1773 : Senior Merchant and Export Warehouse Keeper, Kāsimbāzār, 1774 : absent from India, 1776-80 ; Member of the Board of Trade and Commercial Chief at Lakshmipur, 1782 : Third Member, Board of Trade, 1785 : Suspended from Service 1787 : Reinstated and appointed Judge and Magistrate, Ghāzipur, 1795 : Out of employment 1799 : Collector of Customs, Benares, 1800 : Died, Ghāzipur, 25 August 1809 (not 25 August 1804, as stated in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 63.) See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 111.

Extract from his Will—

"As I shall die with the consciousness of having been a faithful servant to the Company whom I have served since the year 1763 I beg leave to be allowed to Commit my wife and two younger daughters now in England to their Munificent Consideration and attention in the hope that they will provide for their future Maintenance and Support". Refers in his will to papers relating to the affairs of the Bengal Bank, and his brother John, then Paymaster "to the expedition lately sailed from Calcutta ; States therein that he was Collector of Government Customs at Benares and the oldest Servant the Company have upon their Civil Establishment in Bengal" (24 February 1801).

2

CHITPORE ROAD.

Hickey's Notes.

This is a view of the North road from the European part of Calcutta distant two miles, leading to Barrackpore. The termination of this view is the Northern limit of the town of Calcutta, the whole extent of which from South to North is six miles.

1. A place of worship,[1] built by a native of large fortune but never compleated, & part of it has fallen.
2. Entrance to a native house, the upper part the family set in when cool. The house stands a little back.
3. Small houses, huts, & shops of the natives.
4. Do. do. do.
5. A paper lanthorn which the Musselmen hang up during their holidays.

W. Hickey, Stp. 25th 1789.

Editor's Notes.

The temple was built by the famous Gobindram Mitter, whose name is so closely connected with that of Holwell, and suffered serious damage in the earthquake of 1737.

3

THE GREAT TANK: LOOKING EAST TOWARDS THE MISSION CHURCH.

Hickey's Notes.

1. Part of the Great Tank, which supplies the Inhabitants of Calcutta with water for drinking. Tank is the country name for a pond.
2. A private house at present occupied by an Attorney Mr. Raban[1] (pity not o's).
3. A D^{o}. in a cross street.
4. A D^{o}.
5. Warehouses.
6. A Church, built by the Danish Missionary[2] about 18 years ago.
7. The Dwelling house of the Missionary.
8. A private house.
9. A D^{o}.

10. The house in which Genl. Clavering[3] lived, & Died, now Companys offices.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Sept. 30th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Attorney-at-law. Arrived in the *Ganges*, 1779.? Rob on, an allusion to Raban's high charges. Died, 9 January 1811, aged 50.
2. The Reverend John Zachariah Kiernander. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vols. X, XI, XIV, XVII, and XVIII.
3. General Sir John Clavering (1722-1777). Commander-in-Chief and Member of the Supreme Council, 1774: 'The Governor-General of a Day'—(see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XII, p. 1 *et seq*). Died, 30 August 1777. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, p. 185, and Vol. XXX, p. 218. His house is mentioned in Vol. XIV, p. 18, and is still in existence in Mission Row.

4

THE MAYOR'S COURT (OLD COURT HOUSE) AND WRITERS' BUILDING.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. Part of the old Court house, now used as a place for public Entertainments, situated in the center of the European town. It is an immense building, being in depth thrice its front, of which only two thirds here appear
2. A range of buildings erected in 1777 by Mr. Lyon,[1] & bought by Mr. Barwell[2] soon after, from whom the Company have them on Lease. They are given to Junr. Servants or those not receiving a Salary of more than 300 rs. a month. This was the first building of three stories high erected in Calcutta. There are 19 houses, one excellent room on each floor, two Gentlemen to each house. Compleat offices behind. The situation airy & good, being about 50 yards to the Northward of the Great Tank.
3. Principal entrance to the old Fort, under the Gateway is the fatal black hole.
4. A Column erected to the memory of the unfortunate persons who perished in the black hole. (There is another view of it at a nearer sight). In 1783 it was struck by Lightning & much damaged, but was immediately repaired.
5. Top of a building in the old Fort formerly used as a Chapel. It has within a few months been pulled down & a large house built on the Ground for public offices.

6. Part of the Custom Master's house, also in the old Fort.
8. End of the Wall of the Ground belonging to the Great Tank.
9. One of the Common sewers lately compleated throughout Calcutta.

W. Hickey Calcutta 12 Oct. 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Thomas Lyon, architect and builder.
   Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. XLVIII, p. 88.
2. See *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XIV, pp. 67, 70, as to his property in Writers' Buildings.

5

THE SUPREME COURT (NEW COURT HOUSE) AND CHANDPAUL GHAUT.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The present Court house, the private property of Mr. Kear,[1] to whom the Company pay a rent for it of near four thousand pounds sterling a year. The Court is held in the East end, the Judges bench is in a recess, under the Dome A. This house is delightfully situated upon the banks of the river, and quite open to the southward (the prevailing wind in this country) it is upon the Esplanade, about a mile from the Fort. These views being taken with a Camera[2] have the usual fault of greatly encreasing the distances. Thus, from the appearance of the Ships, &c., you would suppose the river more than a mile distant, whereas the Court house is within an hundred yards of it.
2. Coach houses and stables belonging to the Court house.
3. A private dwelling house.
4. A. D°.
5. A D°. This house I inhabited in the beginning of the year 1778.[3]
6. Out houses belonging to a house intercepted by No. 5.
7. Entrance to the house No. 3.
8. D°. to N°. 5. Just beyond which is the street leading to Sir Robt. Chambers's.

   The land opposite to Calcutta here gives you the idea of being hilly whereas it is as flat as a pancake. It should be finished into Trees.

W. H. Calcutta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Archibald Keir. *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXX, p. 150 seqq.
2. ?camera obscura.
3. *Memoirs,* Vol. II, p. 133, and *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXVI, p. 31.

6

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The new Church, compleated by subscription, in 1787. There is a fine organ in it. This building appears to advantage upon paper.
2. A private house. The one I at present inhabit (Sept. '89) is close to it.[1]
3. A Carpenter's Shop.
4. Private houses, in different streets.
5. Upper part of one of the old Tombs: until about 15 years ago this was the burying ground, but as Calcutta encreased in buildings & inhabitants, the place of burial as changed and is now about two miles out of Town.
6. Another old monument, one of the first erected. The date of the inscription is 1738.[2]
7. Admiral Watson's monument.[3]
8. An old monument, part of which has fallen.
9. Old Monuments.
10. Some temporary thatched huts, for workmen &c. whilst the Church was building. They will be soon removed.

W. Hickey Sept. 17th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Hickey's house as indicated by him, is on the extreme right of the picture and appears to occupy the site in Garstin's Place (Hare Street) appropriated in later years by the *Englishman* office. Hickey mentions it in his Memoirs (III—342—3) as being in Council House Street.
2. The tomb of 1738 is that of Josia Townshend "Pilot of the Ganges".
3. Vice-Admiral Charles Watson. See *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXXI, for a reproduction of a portrait of him and his son in

the Victoria Memorial Hall and of his tomb in St. John's Churchyard. The pillar is seen in the background.

7

THE COUNCIL HOUSE AND THE ESPLANADE.

Hickey's Notes.

1. The Council House.
2. Council house Street. It goes from the Esplanade to the Great Tank.
3. The new Church,[1] built by subscription, finished in 1787.
4. A private house, in a cross street that goes out of Council house Street.
5. A house used for public offices, built about 8 years ago by the Revd. Mr. Johnson,[2] formerly inhabited by Sir Eyre Coote,[3] then by Mr. Stables,[4] & lastly by Genl. Sloper,[5] upon whose return to Europe the Company purchased it for a lack of rupees, which was less than it cost building.
6. The house I inhabited (*you see me looking out of the window*).[6] In Sept. 1788 I quitted it when it was imediately pulled down, & a most excellent one erected in its place, which is just finished, & to which, when perfectly dry, I intend to return. It is now nearly as lofty as 5, & has eight good rooms on a floor.
7. A private house in which Mr. Wm. Dunkin[7] resided.
8. Mr. Justice Hyde's[8] ; He has tenanted this house from the time of his arrival, & has paid rent to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds.
9. A private house.
10. Sir Robt. Chambers's. This is one of the most lofty houses in Calcutta situated immediately behind the present Court house : The entrance to it is from a cross street by the water side.
11. A private house.
12. Part of the present Court house.
13. Esplanade.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Sept. 2nd 1789.

Editor's Notes.

1. St. John's. See *Memoirs,* Vol. III, p. 331, for an acount of the opening of the Church under the direction of the Reverend William Johnson—"who took occasion to introduce into his sermon a severe

philippic against inebriety, against indelicate behaviour . . . . and directing his discourse pointedly to the pew in which we sat".

2. Reverend William Johnson, chaplain of Calcutta, husband of "Begum Johnson".
3. *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XV, pp. 51-3.
4. John Stables. Member of the Supreme Council, November 1782 to January 1787. Went to Bengal from Madras as an Ensign, volunteering with Colonel Caillaud, November 1759: Commanded a detachment at Monghyr, December 1760: defeated the Raja of Kurrakhur: commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar, 23 October 1764: retired, 1769. A friend of Zoffany's. *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXXIX, p. 171 and Vol. XL, p. 70.
5. Lieut.-General Robert Sloper. Commander-in-Chief, and Member of the Supreme Council, 21 July 1785 to 12 September 1786. In April 1786, it was thought expedient, in consequence of the Act of Parliament, 1784, to revoke the appointment of General Sloper, and to allow him £1,500 a year for life, and £1,000 for his passage home.
6. c.p. *Memoirs,* Vol. III, pp. 342-3.
7. William Dunkin (Knighted 1791). Permitted to proceed to Bengal to practise as a barrister in the Supreme Court (Despatch to Fort William in Bengal, February 7, 1781). Enrolled as an advocate on October 22, 1782. Left India in the *Phœnix,* January 1789. "This was a serious loss to me" writes Hickey "and I feel it acutely." (*Memoirs,* Vol. III, p. 342). Appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in September 1791. Resigned August 1798. One of his daughters married Sir Francis Macnaghten.
8. John Hyde (1737?-1796). Judge of the Supreme Court, 1774: Died, Calcutta 8 July 1796: buried in South Park Street Burial Ground. The house occupied by him (1784) is mentioned in *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XIV, p. 30.

8

OLD FORT WILLIAM: RIVER SIDE VIEW, WITH THE FORT GHAUT.

1. N. W. Bastion of the old Fort.
2. Entrance to a piece of Ground, private property.
3. Entrance to Custom house Quay.
4. Custom Master's house.
5. Custom House (a part of the old Fort).
6. House formerly used as a Chapel. It was lately pulled down.

7. A house of the Company's in the old Fort.
8. A private house.
9. S. W. Bastion of the old Fort.
10. A private house.
11. A ship building.
12. A Wharf & warehouse of the Company's. It is now carried still further out & a crane erected.
13. A private house.
14. Do. at different distances.
15. A pinnace Budgerow, in which we move up & down the Country. They are very commodious, but being flat bottomed on account of the number of sands, will only sail before the Wind.
16. A Chair palankeen with its cover on.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Oct. 20th 1789.

9

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

Hickey's Notes.

1. The Government house,[1] in which all the Governours of Bengal have resided since Lord Clive's time (He lived in the Council house). Since Lord Cornwallis's arrival it has been much improved. It is situated on the Esplanade, in the same line with the new Court house etc. It belongs to Mahomed Reza Cawn.
2. A private house built in 1781, & occupied by Mr. Wheler[2] untill his death, then by the Honble Mr. Charles Stuart, & now by Mr. Shore.[3] It is situated behind (that is to the Northward of) the Council house.
3. End of the Council house.

W. H. Calc.

Editor's Notes.

1. *Bengal : Past and Present,* Vol. XIV, pp. 176-7.
2. Edward Wheler (1733-1784). Appointed member of the Supreme Council, 1777. Died October 1784. See Biographical Sketch, *Bengal : Past and Present,* Vol. XIV, p. 213, and pp. 17, 20, and 175 of the same volume, as regards his house, in Wheler Place, also Vol. XXVIII, pp. 143-4. Laid the foundation-stone of St. John's Church.

3. John Shore, aft. Baron Teignmouth. Arrived in India as a Writer, 1769: Member of the Supreme Council, 1787: Governor-General, 1793: Commissioner for the Affairs of India, Board of Control. Died, London, 14 February 1834. *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 216.

10

CALCUTTA FROM THE RIVER HOOGHLY.

Hickey's Notes.

The description of this view must be short as it represents a part of the town entirely inhabited by natives; No. 1, is the Armenian Church,[1] which is situated at the extremity of the European part of Calcutta; the remainder takes in a space of about a mile and an half up the river, and goes very near to the Great pagoda in the Chitpore road, and which is the subject of one of the twelve views.

W. Hickey Calcutta Oct. 28th 1789.

Editor's Notes.

1. Church of Saint Nazareth, erected 1724. See *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XLI, pp. 105-118.

11

THE OLD FORT AND WESTERN SIDE OF TANK SQUARE WITH THE HOLWELL MONUMENT LOOKING NORTH TOWARDS CLIVE STREET.

Hickey's Notes.

1. A Bastion of the Old Fort.
2. Principal Gateway of Do., under which is the black hole.
3. N. E. Bastion of the Old Fort.
4. A dwelling house, formerly Mr. Middleton's.[1]
5. A private Dwelling house.
6. Messrs. Paxton, Cockerell & Co's house.
7. Offices to Do., lately erected.
8. A private Dwelling house.
9. The Theatre,[2] built by subscription, about 20 years ago.

10. West end of the Writers buildings, of which you have an entire view.
11. Obelisk erected to the memory of the unfortunate sufferers in the black hole ; upon a brass plate on the North side (which is the opposite to the one here in shade) are the names of all those who perished.
12. Part of the Wall that incloses a piece of Ground adjoining to the Great Tank.

Wm. Hickey, Calcutta Oct. 17th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. ?Samuel Middleton, Junior, Commissioner of the Sunderbans in 1792.
2. "New Playhouse", in Lyon's Range. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 78.

12

OLD COURT HOUSE STREET: LOOKING SOUTH.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. A Dwelling house, lately the property of Mr. Calvert,[1] who went home last year.
2. Do. belonging to Mr. Prinsep,[2] who married *your flame*, Miss Auriol.[3] [4]
3. Part of Stables of No. 1.
4. A house inhabited by the Commander of a Europe Ship. It is in a cross lane.
5. Do. This is the house Mr. Francis made *his entree* into which cost him 50,000 Rupees.
6. The house of Mr. Harding,[5] one of the paymasters.
7. Stables & offices belonging to the Governor General's house.
8. Entrance to a house inhabited by Capt. Robertson[6] of the Busbridge.
9. Habitation of Mr. Ellis, Surgeon General.[7]
10. The Library.
11. A Europe Shop, that is where all Europe articles are sold.
12. A Do.
13. A private house.
14. A School.
15. Esplanade.

OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, 1789
Looking South towards the Esplanade
Drawing from William Hickey from one of Daniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta

1 A Dwelling house: lately the property of Mr Calvert, who went home last year.
2 Do belonging to Mr Grand who married your flame, Miss Auriol.
3. Part of Stables of Mr H.
4. A house inhabited by the Commander of a Europe Ship, It is in a cross lane.
5. Do. This is the house Mr Francis made his entree into, which cost him 50,000 Rups.
6 The house of Mr Harding. one of the paymasters.
7. Stables & offices belonging to the Governor Generals house
8. Entrance to a house inhabited by Capt. Robertson, of the Rawbridge.
9. Habitation of Mr Ellis. Surgeon General.
10. The Library.
11. A Europe shop. that is where all Europe articles are sold.
12. A Do.
13. A private house.
14. A School.
15. Esplanade.

This is one of the principal Streets of Calcutta. It goes from the Old Court house up to the Esplanade.

This is one of the principal Streets of Calcutta. It goes from the Old Court house up to the Esplanade.

Wm. Hickey Oct. 3rd, 1789 Calcutta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Thomas Calvert. Writer 1772, employed as Assistant in the Export Warehouse: Salt Agent at Chittagong, 1776: Factor holding the same office, 1777: Junior merchant and Salt Agent at Hijili, 1782: Senior merchant and Controller of salt manufacture, 1788: Returned to England, 1789. He and his wife (*née* Anne Philpotts) sell their house (purchased from John Prinsep) 20/21 January 1789. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 175, 210.

2. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI p. 154. John Prinsep died 30 November 1831, in Great Cumberland Street, aged 85 years.

3. Sophia Auriol, sister of James Peter Auriol. Miss Sophia Auriol and Miss Charlotte Auriol were permitted to "proceed to their friends in India" in 1779 (Court Minutes, 3 December 1779). John Prinsep married Sophia Elizabeth Auriol on January 22, 1782. She died in London on February 21, 1850 aged 90. Charlotte Louisa Auriol was married to Thomas Dashwood of the Civil Service on February 23, 1782. The Dashwood family own a portrait group by Zoffany, in which the sisters, their husbands and their brothers Charles and John are represented.

4. James Peter Auriol. Writer, 1770, employed as assistant in the Secretary's office: Sub-Secretary to the Council of the Governor and Deputy Zamindar, 1772: Assistant Secretary to the Supreme Council and Assistant Deputy Commissary General, 1774: Factor and Secretary to the Governor General and Council, 1776: Junior merchant and Secretary as before, 1779: Senior merchant and Secretary in the General Department and Agent for supplies to the other Presidencies, 1782: Out of the Service in 1788. Died, in his house in Park Lane, 21 June 1824. His widow died 1 May 1827. (Information supplied by Miss E. Humphris). His brother John Lewis Auriol was also a Bengal civil servant.

5. William Harding. Writer, 1777: Assistant in the Secretary's Office, 1778: also Examiner 1780: Civil Paymaster, 1782: Factor, Civil Paymaster and Military Paymaster-General, 1783: Senior Merchant and Civil Paymaster, 1788: At home, 1791: Out of the service in 1795.

   Thomas Adams sells to William Harding an upper-roomed house and ground "on the high road leading southerly from the Old Court House to the Esplanade". 20/21 April 1784. (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV p. 17).

6. Captain Thomas Robertson. Possibly 'Malay' Robertson, brother of Mr. Robertson, landlord of the house inhabited by Hickey, 1790-4. (*Memoirs* vol. III pp. 387-8 and vol. IV, p. 116). Born 1765: seaman in the *Lively*, 1772: 1st voyage to India, 1772, and came home in the *Prime*, as seaman: midshipman, *Hillsborough*, 1774: 4th mate, *Valentine*, 1776-7, came home as 3rd mate: 2nd mate *Busbridge*, season 1781-2: Commander, *Busbridge*, seasons 1784-5 to 1791-2: Commander, *Cirencester*, seasons 1796-7 to 1803-4.

7. James Ellis. Surgeon's mate, *Streatham*, 1758-59, lost: Assistant-Surgeon 1759: Ensign, 1760: Resigned combatant commission in promotion to Surgeon, 1 October 1761: Second Surgeon, Calcutta, 25 November 1763: Head Surgeon 12 February 1771: Resigned and went to England, April 1774: Returned to India, May 1783, and succeeded Daniel Campbell as Surgeon General: First President of Medical Board at its foundation, 29 May 1786: Physician General 28 August 1786: resigned, 24 December 1789; Died in *Busbridge* on passage to England.

War Services: War with Mir-Kasim, 1763: Senior Surgeon of Army under Major Adams, battles of Katwa Gharia, and Undhwa Nala, capture of Monghir and Patna. *vide* Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service, and Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615-1930.*

W. T. OTTEWILL.

Sheikh I'tesamuddin of Nadia.

THE FIRST INDIAN TO VISIT LONDON.

ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

My interest has been considerably aroused by an able article published in the "Statesman" of the 1st July, 1934, under the caption of: "The first Indian in England. A Bengalee Muslim's chronicle of 1765." 'Anent' the statement of the writer of the article it appears that no copy of the MS. "Shagarf Nama-i-Vilayet" is perhaps now extant. But as I write these notes I am fortunate in having before me an old Persian MS of the 'Shagarf Nama.' The MS belongs to my friend, Moulana Hakim Habibur Rahman Akhundzadah of Dacca and is full of highly interesting details of the contemporary history of Bengal.

The author Sheikh I'tesamuddin, son of Sheikh Tajuddin, hailed from the village cf Kasba in Perganah Pachnoor of Nadia District. The MS contains some mistakes and ommissions committed, apparently by the scribe and there are also confusions in Hijri and Bengalee years. It is sometimes difficult to follow the foreign proper names transcribed into Persian, over and above which the scribe out of ignorance made mistakes in spelling. As I have just taken up the MS for study I have had no opportunity to compare the details with any authentic contemporary records. To the Muslims of India generally and of Bengal specially, it is a source of joy and pride to learn that one of their kith and kin had the proud privilege of visiting England as early as 1766, when the mere thought of "Kalapani" was a source of sin and terror. It is generally believed that Raja Ram Mohon Ray was the first Indian to visit England in 1831. But perhaps very few people know that this Muslim gentleman had visited England about 64 years before the Raja had visited the place. The MS contains 310 closely written pages, the size of each page being 9 by 6 inches.

There are several chapters marked in red dealing with different subject matters. The MS contains no portrait of the Sheikh. But the imposing portrait which the "Statesman" has published from Alexander's English account of the Sheikh's travels is, indeed, very interesting. I have not seen the English copy. But I am inclined to think that it is not a faithful translation of the MS and is perhaps an expurgated and abridged narration.

After some change of European and Indian masters the Sheikh was in the employ of one Major Park during the Nayabet of Nawab Kasem Ali Khan and with the Major visited Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi in Azimabad. When Major Park left for England he was sent to one Major Tom with a letter of recommendation, a map of the route from Birbhum to Azimabad and a grey-

hound mastiff. But as ill-luck would have it he could not get any employment there owing to the machinations of Naba Kishan, who was afterwards made a Raja. He was present at Uduanalla during the war with Nawab Kasem Khan. In Midnapur during the regime of one Mr. Birdhood, he was for a year a Tehsildar of the Perganah Kutubpur, with a certain kind-hearted European gentleman named Mr. Eastbursh who died soon after and whose affectionate memory the Sheikh always cherished with tears.

Among Enemies.

The Sheikh then went to Calcutta where he found eight persons in the employment of the Company in the Company's Munshikhana. Among them he names Munshi Asadolla, Munshi Fakhruddin, Munshi Md. Asloob, Munshi Abul Bari, Munshi Md. Muizz in the service of Major Charnock, Munshi Sadruddin* in the service of Colonel Coote and Munshi Salimallah in the service of Henry Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta.

In the year 1180 Hijri (1766-67) Nawab Shuja-ud-Doula and Lord Clive Sabet Jung Bahadur returned from the camp of the Badshah in Allahabad after having obtained the 'Firman' for the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on behalf of the Company and the Nizamat in the name of Najmud-Daula son of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan. The Badshah with tears in his eyes told Lord Clive Sabet Jung Bahadur that they were leaving him in the midst of enemies and ungrateful creatures. Lord Clive and General Charnock were much moved to hear this from His Majesty and assured him that nothing would be done without His Majesty's consent and that of the Company's Council and that Lord Clive was soon going to England to set things right. His Majesty was requested by Lord Clive to stay in Allahabad till his return from England, and General Smith was ordered to wait upon His Majesty with a battalion of troops. Then Nawab Munir-ud-Daula and Rajah Shitab Roy along with Lord Clive Sabet Jung came down to Calcutta.

On arriving in Calcutta they went to the garden at Dum-Dum and there with the concurrence of General Charnock, George Vansittart, Captain Swinton, Nawab Munir-ud-Daula and Rajah Shitab Ray and without any knowledge of the Council of Directors, wrote a letter (to the King of England) in the Badshah's name and illuminated it with the Royal Seal. The letter was then entrusted to Captain Archibald Swinton (a Scotchman and the Captain was appointed to represent the Badshah of Hindustan before the King of 'exalted dignity' in England with a gift of a lac of rupees. A Munshi was necessary to accompany the Captain and the Sheikh was selected for the work.

* *N.B.*—Munshi Sadruddin (of Maldah), as far as I know was the originator of the Bohar Library now attached to the Imperial Library at Calcutta. His direct descent is now Mr. Muzafferul Musavi of Karatia, son-in-law of the late Hon. Nawab Bahadur Nawabali Chaudhuri, C.I.E. It would have been interesting if other gentlemen mentioned above, including the writer himself, could be similarly traced and identified.

Badshah's Letter.

Nawab Munir-ud-Daula on behalf of the Badshah gave the Sheikh four thousand rupees for his expenses and promised high royal favours in future. After they had voyaged a week Captain Swinton informed the Sheikh that Lord Clive had taken away the Badshah's letter from him saying that since the present of the Badshah had not arrived from Benares it would be of no use to carry the letter alone and that Lord Clive when coming to London next year would bring with him the letter and the gift. On hearing this the Sheikh felt as if his breath was snatched away and he almost lost his senses. But there was no escape and on strict injunctions his lips were sealed. However after a year and a half Lord Clive reached England and laid before the Queen of England the gift of a lac of rupees on his personal behalf and obtained showers of royal favours.

He never mentioned the name of the Badshah in this connection nor delivered the Badshah's letter. Even Captain Swinton who was a friend of Lord Clive, was quite disgusted by the crafty conduct of the noble Lord and complained to the Sheikh of the trick played on them. At that time a keen controversy was going on in England as to whether the East India Company or the British Sovereign on behalf of the people of England should be the real possessor of the fruits of Company's adventures in India. The Sheikh details the strong arguments of both parties.

Inducements.

The Sheikh then finding his stay in England quite unnecessary decided to return home. Many English friends tried to retain him in England, on high remuneration in order to engage him to teach Persian to young Englishmen destined for service in India and for other important work connected with Persian language. Captain Swinton himself and through other influential Englishmen like Dr. Bolton, Captain Stibble etc. tried their utmost to retain his services but to no purpose. Captain Swinton even offered to help him to marry 'two wives instead of one' according to the custom of the Sheikh's country. To these queer suggestions the Sheikh politely replied that the tawny women of his country were a thousand times better than the fairy-faced damsels of England. Many other English friends insisted upon him to take a fresh wife in London. To them the Sheikh always gave a witty rely. He told them that "the woman I would like to marry here would not consent to marry me and the woman who would like to marry me, I would not consent to marry her. The reason is this that I am as much respectable in my own country as are the dignitaries of your country ; so any marital alliance I make here must be consistent with the dignity and standard of my own native land.

That was a time when owing to quarrels between themselves Mr. Johnson and some other Councillors of the Company were being tried by the Supreme Court of London for taking a bribe from Nawab Muzaffer Jung, Md. Riza Khan, Maharaja Nund Kumar and Maharajah Durlabh Roy. Captain Swinton, Captain Stibble, and Mr. Peacock were specially brought to London to depose

in the case. The Sheikh attended the trial at persistent requests from Swinton and helped those gentlemen in deciphering Persian letters and other exhibits.

The Sheikh when out in the streets of England with his customary flowing robes and his outlandish appearance became the target of inquisitive passersby, who knew him to be a humble relation of the Nabobs of Bengal. Even Captain Swinton on account of his keeping company with him was tauntingly styled as 'Nabob.' The Sheikh's ubiquitous 'Gur-Guri' 'hookah' reigned supreme even in the precincts of the Supreme Court of London and this perhaps added much to the Oriental grandeur of the Sheikh.

The Sheikh was, however, very much disgusted and felt sad in London owing to his unsuccessful mission. Besides the memory of his 'sweet home' haunted him and made his mind uneasy. Therefore, he left England and in the year 1183 Hijri (1769) in the Bengalee month of Kartik with Mr. Mondy reached home in Bengal. He stayed in England one year and seven months and also visited the 'Madrassah' of Oxford and Scotland. He spent one year in the journey and two months in Madras.

Intelligent Inquiries.

The erudition of the Sheikh can be gauged from the fact that on several subject-matters of the MS he has from his own point of view made intellligent inquiries and criticisms. He has treated at length on what he saw and how he felt at every port of call during the voyage and very seldom failed to give topographical accounts of the places. His description of the places of interest in England and Scotland, on social customs and religious institutions, on education and academy, on law and justice, on army and discipline, on love and war, on places of mirth and amusement, on the Regent Park, St. James Palace, the House of Parliament, Museum. Libraries, the Zoological Garden and several other subjects will raise the interest of the reader to a high pitch.

I wish some Muslim scholar would take up the translation of the MS in right earnest.

After his return from England the Sheikh continued to play an important role as political intermediary and as scribe of despatches and protocols during that period of wars and upheavals, when the destiny of India was in the melting pot. As far as I can find out, the Sheikh was the only Indian writer of contemporary events of which he was an eye-witness. In almost every war then raging, he was present with the British army. In the transactions between Shah Alum, John Company and Najm-ud-Dowla, the Sheikh was a factor.

He writes :—"All these negotiations between the late Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla, the protocols and the Firman of the Badshah were written by the pen of Mohammed Muizz Munshi, and this humble-self with the approval of Mr. George Vansittart, was their interpreter. In the year 1189 H corresponding to 1795 of the Christian era, I was in the service of the Company with Colonel Upton Bahadur and went to Poona Sitara to carry on negotiations, to put questions and to give answers to the Mahrattas. There, I was the

intermediary in the durbar of the Peshawas between the Company and the Mahratta statesmen like Pundit Rao Pardhan, Sakharam Babu and Balaji Rao alias Nana Fernavis. The copy of the protocol that was then drawn up by me with the full concurrence of Captain Macpherson is still with my humble-self. I have spent the whole of my period of manhood in the services of Englishmen. Now at this old age I am beset with hard times and the evil days have taken me up."

In my narration of the Sheikh's travels I shall, as far as possible, limit myself to facts incidental to Europe which I hope will interest the general readers.

In France.

After about six months' voyage over an unending expanse of water below, and under a limitless sheet of blue sky above, the sloop reached the shores of France. The boom of a gun from the sloop brought a pilot boat from the shore and with its guidance they reached the port of Bourbonan. Customs officers came on board the sloop to search the passengers' belongings, whereupon the assistants of the sloop's Captain, a doctor, a clergyman and many others began to conceal in their pockets, wrap round their necks, waists and below their shirts and underwear, articles like clothes which they had brought from Bengal. The Sheikh was amused to see the strange conduct of these people who "made themselves thieves by carrying their own properties."

Swinton and Peacock then left for England by mail coach and the Sheikh was left to go by boat. He stayed in France for three weeks which he spent in sight-seeing and studying the ways and mode of living of the French people. He says that the French people were reputed for their respectability and pleasant manners, throughout the European world. They were much advanced in all kinds of arts, science, technics and crafts. Rich people of England sent their sons and daughters for education to Paris where they specially learnt Music and Domestic Science. It was owing to French training that the English people were so much forward in the world. Formerly they were as much ignorant and worthless as were then the Indians.

The Sheikh remarks that after all, learning and acquisition of wisdom were special gifts of God to mankind for their own benefit. Those who ignore it must suffer the consequences. The people of the country seemed to him rather poor and lazy. The Englishmen in comparison were more active and smart. They had no shoes and socks on. Whereas the English people invariably wore shoes and socks. Plenty of eatables like bread, cheese, herbs, vegetables and indigenous fruits could be had. But dried fruits of the Levant and Iraq were not available, neither was their any sign of mangoes, jack-fruits, plantains, oranges, rice or the cereals common in Hindustan.

First Impressions of England.

After another week's voyage the sloop set anchor at a small town in England. People of the 'ghat' came on board to search the sloop. In the

chest of the wife of Peacock who was a blackish Portuguese woman, some embroidered cloths and a bundle of "Kimkhab" were found. Owing to her carrying contraband goods like these, the officials impounded the sloop in a narrow canal connected with London river. The Sheikh got down to see sights. Before this the people of England had never seen an Indian with the peculiar form of dress worn by him. He was, therefore naturally a sight for the people.

One day the Sheikh happened to enter the house of a respectable citizens where music and dancing were in full swing. Immediately on his entering the room the music came to a standstill and a beautiful set of people crowded round him to examine his dress and appearance. They took his dress as specially adapted for dancing by buffoons. Then inspite of his persistent excuses and his ignorance of the art: they began to urge him on to dance. They could not understand how a man with that amusing costume was unable to sing and dance. They were however not convinced and thought the Sheikh was shy of dancing because of the foreign company.

Here the Sheikh remarks:—"I went to see sights but myself became a sight for others. They on their part looked strangely at my countenance and costume, and I, on my part, was charmed with their beautiful faces. In that assembly where one's wit is lost, the fairy out of remorse covers her moonlike face in disgust and the 'ghilman' with his sunlike countenance hangs down his head in shame. I, an ordinary wayfarer out of refulgence of the rays of their beauty, felt dazed and looked aghast like a statue. I, therefore, spent my time in praising the Supreme Fashioner who shaped these creatures of clay with His artful hand."

London Adventures.

Swinton and Peacock took him to London on a 'gharry' with Mohammed Muqim (perhaps this man was an attendant accompanying the Sheikh from India) and they stopped there in the house of the younger brother of Swinton, in Count Street, Hay Market. People of London took him to be a strange being, not without some high importance attached to his person, as he was considered to be a poor relation of the Nabobs of Bengal. When out in the streets of London in his flowing garment, turban, shawl and with a dagger (Peshkabz) thrust in his "Kumerbund" he was quite a sight. Many liked his garments on account of its feminine features. Men and women hovered round him, touched and felt him, ran after him, and espying him from high balconies and windows came down with lightning speed and beaming faces to have a look at this mysterious man.

Youngsters and children thinking him to be a "Bull *i.e.*, a black genie" as the Sheikh puts it, used to scream and run away from him. But after some time they were much emboldened and became quite familiar with him, on account of his courteous and friendly ways. He was then always treated with utmost kindness, jovial manners and prodigious hospitality. The Sheikh was always lavish in his praise of English courtesy and hospitality. Public women used to flirt with him and say "Come, my dear, kiss me." This phrase

in the opinion of the Sheikh indicated that he was expected to pass some pleasant time in their company. The curiosity of the people to see him was natural because except some "Khalasies" and crewmen of Chittagong and Jehangirnagar (Dacca) they never saw a man of respectable "Munshi" type from Hindustan except the Sheikh.

The Mighty Metropolis.

The city of London extended for about six miles north to south. From the east it began with the King's Garden and ended in the west with a stone-made fort. A river connected with the sea flowed east to west. The ships were anchored at the jetty of the Company, facing the Company's 'kothi' and was six miles off from the King's palace. The Sheikh says that in the English language 'City' is a place where Mahajans and traders have their residence and conduct their business. This place in Hindustani term is called a "Mahajantoli." Towards the west there stood many buildings often three and five stories high and beautiful gardens. In the outskirts of the city there was a very old and strong fort made of black stone.

There was yet another ancient fort close to "Mahajantoli" which was called the "Tower." Within this there are armouries; big and small cannon, of steel, brass and bronze, both ornamental and plain, were kept there, French, Spanish and other national standards captured by the English people in naval and land wars, were exhibited there as trophies. Among these there was a cannon of about 16 cubits long the width of which can be imagined from the fact that if at both ends two persons sit, one would not be able to see the other. Its muzzle was so big, that a tailor could sit within and sew cloths at ease. This gun had been captured in the fort of Edinburgh in Scotland when it was conquered by the King of England.

It was said that a Scotch woman having committed fornication got herself concealed within the muzzle and gave birth to a child there. For one year her paramour used to come stealthily at night and supply her with food. In a big hall about a lac of guns and pistols were hung round pillars and in another, steel helmets, armour, bucklers, swords, spears etc., were beautifully arranged along the roof and the walls. On the floor below were huge statues of ancient Kings made of steel and bronze, enveloped in full armour and decked with arms, mounted upon wooden horses to show to the people, the likeness of the Kings in whose times these spoils were seized. In another room there was a mint in which coins were struck.

From my narration of the travels of Sheikh I'tesamuddin in 1766, a casual observer might think him to be a man of gay disposition. But quite contrary was the fact. He had passed the meridian of life when he visited England and was strictly a man of religion and dogma. His conservatism and orthodoxy can best be seen from the fact that throughout his long stay in the British Isles he never took a morsel of food prepared by the people of that land. When ever possible his servant Muhammed Muqim cooked his food, but generally he remained without any cooked food and mainly subsisted on Sherbet prepared by himself and a few pieces of dried fruits. On one

occasion he went on "hunger strike" for two weeks. . He was consequently confined to bed and at a time lost all senses. When his condition became grave, Swinton rushed to his rescue and brought him to his senses. The gallant Captain was then compelled to procure for him rice, fowl and other articles which the Sheikh himself cooked. Then after two days he could shake his limbs. Many people asked him how it was that he never fell ill during his long stay abroad. In reply the Sheikh said that he used to prevent disease by eating sparingly, as he was always under the apprehension that once he fell ill these people would give him medicine which needs contain wine as its ingredient, by taking a drop of which he would lose both this world and the next. The MS contains interesting religious discourses on the 'People of the Book' (Christians) quoting anecdotes and traditions of our holy Prophet and often discussing threadbare the virtues and vices in the manners and customs of these people. He never stinted when compliment and tribute were their due and judged things from the point of view of a philosopher, an artist and a humorist: yet withal never forgetting his own religious prejudices.

My object in writing these notes is merely to show to the educated Muslim youngmen of Bengal, the adventurous spirit, the breadth of vision and the masterful exposition of things quite foreign to oriental imagination, by an old gentleman of perhaps a neglected countryside of ours, at a period when Muslim India was fast approaching towards doom and destruction. I shall therefore limit my article to just as brief an account of interesting items as possible leaving it to abler people to take up the translation of the MS. I do not claim to be a good judge. But I venture to think that from the point of view of Persian language the book is a tribute to the marvellous literary ability of a countryside Bengalee gentleman of the eighteenth century. As such it is my fondest hope that the original language should also be preserved in print.

The King and the Queen.

When the author of the 'Shagarfnameh' was in England, George III was the reigning sovereign. He was then 45 years old and was said to have been endowed with all the qualities of a King. The Queen was a lady of short stature but pretty-looking and was the daughter of the King of Denmark. When the Sheikh was in England they had then 12 children. The King and the queen used to come out in a carriage drawn by 8 horses with postillions and liveried footmen, led by guards and followed by about 60 cavalrymen with spears in their hands.

St. James Park.

The King's palace was not very imposing. Even its walls were not white-washed as was the case with ordinary mercantile buildings (which were often of three, four or five stories high). The Queen's house was called St. James Palace situated on the west of the garden of that name. Within an enclosure a large number of deer and antelopes could be seen running about. The

edifice was a very attractive one and worthy of the noble queen. Almost attached to the palace was the Park of St. James. There was an avenue in this garden about 2 miles long towards the east and half a bigha in width, towards the north of which was a crystal-like stream of water sufficiently deep. On both sides of the avenue nut and apricot trees shed delightful shade. Multi-coloured flowers, studding promenades, walks and lawns flung scents and aroma around to refresh the brain. Every where lovely girls with silvery limbs like 'Peacocks in extasy' abandoned themselves to mirth and merriments. Here and there graceful youngmen and charming women were busy in cuddling and wooing or striking their limbs to the tune of the music. On seeing the splendour of the panorama the Sheikh involuntarily exclaimed the familiar couplet :—

> If there be paradise in this earth,
> It is here, it is here, it is here.

The Regent Park.

The King's garden was a very ancient one established by the Kings of old, with a circumference of about 5 miles. Evergreen orchids and shrubs and delightful avenues, promenades and lawns were the special features of this garden. Flower beds were laid out there in beautiful triangular, square, octagonal and round shapes. Avenues full of trees of European origin like apples, pears, peach, nuts and currants could be seen there in abundance. Fruit trees of pineapples, water melons and oranges and flowers like tulips, tuberose, balsams, marigolds and coxcomb as found in India could also be seen there. As owing to severe cold fruits and flowers of tropical countries like India could not be grown there, a space had been walled up on three sides with an opening on the north. This opening had been enclosed in glasses in such a way that outside draught could not enter into it but at the same time admitted the heat and ray of the sun. During extreme cold heating ovens were placed inside it to procure the temperature requisite for its preservation. By this troublesome process the expert gardeners of London preserved fruits and flowers of tropical origin and grew them to such perfection that sometimes one pineapple was sold for a guinea. Camphire (Mehendee) blocks and tatties were so ingeniously cropped and clipped into human and animal forms that one mistook them at night to be living beings. In the gardens of Oxford of 500 years old this kind of tatties could be seen.

The Westminister Abbey.

The Cathedral of Westminister was a very ancient monument of stupendous size and was founded by the King of Denmark during his rule of this country. But it still looked new. Within the edifice old paintings and pictures of strange beings were depicted on the walls and ceilings, engraved and painted by famous artists of the world. There was a statue of a lady standing on a pedestal about 3 cubits from the ground. It was so artistically carved and elegantly chiselled that every lineament of her body, her graceful pose,

the proportion of her limbs, her clear-cut face and even the coil and curl of her hair were so faithfully depicted that the Sheikh at first could not distinguish it as live or dead until it was closely examined. It was said that the Kings of Denmark during their long rule of this country constructed many such monuments and had them repleted with relief and other statuaries and painting procured at enormous cost from Egypt, Syria and Rome. Close to the Abbey there was the Westminister bridge. The bridge was about the breadth of Calcutta river and was wide enough for the passage of 4 carriages abreast. Below the bridge were arches under which boats passed to and fro. It used to be said that except the bridges of Constantinople and Baghdad no such bridge existed in the world. But the Sheikh was also told that another such bridge was recently constructed somewhere. Close by, there was another church in which famous men of the country used to be buried. Their coffins were enbalmed and wrapped with certain leaves and laid in chests within a vault where, one could examine the condition of the coffin should necessity arise. But in so doing a great caution was necessary because slightest outside air would decompose the body.

The Brobdingnagian woman.

Close to the Hay Market a woman of prodigious size was being exhibited on tickets. The Sheikh purchased a ticket and went in. She was of about eight feet high. No sooner she learnt that a 'black Indian' was coming to see her, she ran towards the Sheikh and with all the merriments and glee stood by his side. The Sheikh looked as small below her form as a 'star before the flaming sun'. Her very wrist was perhaps thicker than the Sheikh's thigh. But inspite of her extraordinary stature she was a very pretty woman. All the limbs and other parts of her body were quite in harmony with her form and proportionate to her stature. She was as frisky and lithe as an ordinary woman.

The Rescue Asylum.

In London there was a big house maintained by the State in which infants and children of indigent people were taken to be reared up. They were brought up there with all the motherly care and attention and trained in different kinds of arts and crafts. After training they came out to earn their own living. Many babies of illegitimate birth were often left stealthily at the asylum door by their sinning mothers with their navel-string freshly cut. No sooner the doctors and nurses attached to the asylum noticed them, they at once ran up to claim the babies and afterwards nursed them with so much tenderly affection as if they were their own babies. In this way they made these children grow into useful members of society.

The 'Madrassah' of Oxford.

The town of Oxford was about two stages off from London. It contained a very ancient institution. Some of its buildings and churches were more than a thousand years old. But they were still very strong and were being

jealously preserved. The people had a remarkable craze of preserving anything old specially things of historical origin. Some of its gardens also were of very old origin. But they looked as if they were recently laid out. The walls of the buildings were of black stone with roofing of wood often protected by iron and bronze joists. All around beautiful gardens were laid out and trees had been clipped and cut into human and animal forms. In one room innumerable Persian and Arabic books and manuscripts were laid. The book "Kalela-Dimna" (Piplays Fables) was also found there. Here the Sheikh copied for Swinton the concluding portion of the 'Ferhan-i-Jehangree' (a Persian Dictionary). Mr. Jones of Calcutta court (afterwards the famous Sir William Jones of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) was met there. On the request of Swinton and Mr. Jones, the Sheikh fully deciphered three letters written in Turkish language by the Sultan of Behrain(?) to the King of England. While on board the sloop from India Captain Swinton read with the Sheikh the whole of the book 'Kalela Dimna' and translated 12 chapters of the 'Farhan-in-Jahangiree'. With the help of this translation Mr. Jones wrote his famous book 'Shekeristan' (perhaps this is the explanatory notes on Sadi's Gulistan) and sold the copies to rich people of this country at high price.

Many paintings of men and women were seen there executed by renowned artists of the world. Exquisite marble statuaries modelled and finished by famous sculptors of Egypt and Rome were also there. They were still in search of such paintings and statutes in different parts of the world and would offer enormous sums of money to secure them. They did not mind spending even two lacs of rupees to secure these rare specimens of art There was a story current about it in the country. Once a reputed artist in order to depict the graphic crucifixon scene of Jesus Christ, enticed a poor man into a secret corner of his house. There the wretched man was made senseless and nails were hammered into his feet. The artist who were ready with his brush for this unique scene, immediately transferred to his canvas all the details of the features of the dying man in their vivid realism. The barbarity of the incident was however publicly known and the artist was hauled up for execution. Before going to the place of execution the artist had the painting brought to him and painted it black and had it disfigured. For this the man was taken before the king who, asked him why he disfigured this unique specimen of art. The man replied that he produced a masterpiece which was applauded by the nation and which he executed merely at the sacrifice of a poor tramp. Now as he was being impaled for the crime it was of no use to preserve his production. The king then asked him if he could restore the painting to its original condition if he were pardoned. The man replying in the affirmative, restored the painting and was set free. The Sheikh remarked that this was the state of appreciation of art and scholarship of the nation and regretted to observe that if in his own country any one by his scholarship and application became distinguished as a 'Plato of the age' all the people would pull him down. In consequence the unfortunate man would sink back into oblivion.

Captain Archibald Swinton.

Leaving aside many other important items specially the political institutions like the houses of Parliament and its constituent bodies and the efficient and corporate system of education there, laid in sad contrast with those then prevalent in Hindustan, I am now hurrying down to the home of our jolly-good host Captain Archibald Swinton, at Edinburgh in Scotland, in order to give the reader a glimpse into the life and, history of this extraordinary man. It will be found how this man rose to distinction by sheer dint of merit, industry and perseverence.

The Sheikh reached the town of Edinburgh taking with him the notes of his Shagarfnamah. We went to the home of the Swintons where he visited their father, an old man of more than 70 years and his mother, a 60 year old lady. The Swintons were three brothers and two sisters. The eldest was John Swinton. The two sisters were full-grown women but still unmarried. In Scotland as well as in England women were often gifted with fine accomplishments. They chose their own husbands. But men, in choosing their own mates of life, always kept eyes on their wealth and not on their qualities. In a free country like this where number of women much exceeded men, no body cared a bit to marry a woman without wealth, although there were plenty of them endowed with finest qualities. For this reason many of them never saw the face of husbands and spent their life in celibacy. Therefore where the number of the softer sex was so plentiful no one appreciated their worth as wives. In this connection the Sheikh gave a significant analogy. He said that in India where long red chillies and tamarind were so much in abundance no body cared to purchase them even for a farthing. But if these things were brought to this country they would be worth a guinea.

The Swintons derived the name of their family from the event when one of their brave ancestors killed a wild white boar in his country. As swine was another word for boar, the family derived the name of Swinton from this incident. In this way each member of the individual family was known by a surname derived from some such historic incident and was identified by the emblems of such animals and other beings. They engraved the emblems on their seals and signets or painted them on their books and carriages. The old Swinton still passes his time in painting and drawing and inspite of his old age never wastes his time. Captain Archibald Swinton learnt Anatomy, Medicine and Surgery in some English school. Then being pressed by poverty, he fled from home and settled himself as physician and surgeon in the Malay Peninsula and Pegu. After practising there fore some time, he came to Madras and attached himself to Lord Clive. Under Clive he rendered sterling services in the wars. He was then sent in charge of a battalion to invest Tipperah Rawshanabad which country he conquered by his valour. Afterwards he served under Major Adam and distinguished himself in the war with Nawab Kasemali Khan in Mungyr and Azimabad. He then served under General Charnock in the train of Shah Alum Badshah-i-Ghazi in the wars in Cora, Jehanabad and Kalpi and acquired further fame and glory by his chivalry and conquest. He was an adviser and companion of Gen. Charnock in the

negotiations with Nawab Shujauddawla. It might be interesting to some readers to know that this gallant gentleman's name is still remembered in Dacca by old people as "Soolteen Sahib". It was to this officer that Nawab Jesarat Khan delivered his charge of Nayeb-Nizamet at his Bara-Katra palace and then removed his residence to the site where the Dacca Museum now stands. It may be observed that this gallant officer was also a good Persian scholar.

To the prospective translator of the MS I would point out that another copy of the Shagarfnameh can be found in the possession of one Mr. Raghunath Singh of 299, Panhari Gali, Delhi. It will be necessary to collate and compare all the MSS in order to arrive at a correct detail, specially in respect of foreign proper names transcribed into Persian.

SYED A. S. M. TAIFOOR.

Jean Pierre Muller.

AN UNKNOWN FRENCH ARTIST IN CALCUTTA.
1803—1807.

WE translate the following from M. Maurice Besson's *Les Aventuriers Français aux Indes 1775—1820* (Paris 1932—page 252). Nothing is known in Calcutta of any works by this French artist, J. P. Muller, and he finds no mention in Sir William Foster's notices of Foreign European Artists in India which were published in Volume XL of *Bengal: Past and Present.*

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Captain-adjutant Binot (who had been left at Pondicherry by General Decaen) was forced to capitulate on September 10, 1803, and was sent with his men to the Cape of Good Hope. But before Pondicherry was definitely surrendered, he had time to send to the Mahratta camp, where General Perron then was, a young lieutenant full of zeal and capacity, named Muller, who was attached to the 18th brigade. He was a young man of 23 years of age, a blond and tall Alsatian, born at Landau who had enlisted as a *tapin* (drummer) in the armies of the Republic as a boy of thirteen. He had then served in the marine corps, the colonial infantry and later on the dragoons and on the 1st Ventôse of the year XI was a second lieutenant in the 18th half-brigade. Jean Pierre Muller spoke English, German and Italian and on sailing from Brest had set himself to study Hindustani and Persian. He accepted with joy the mission entrusted to him by Binot ; the task was not easy, for the English authorities were on the watch. In order to penetrate into the north and to reach the Mahratta country, he received for his travelling expenses the scanty sum of a hundred rupees. Happily as we shall see, the ex-volunteer of the Army of the Rhine had a certain talent as a painter. Thanks to his palette, he arrived at Madras and obtained from the English Commissary a passport as a "German artist." From Madras, it was necessary to travel northward as far as the Ganges.

"I embarked on a small and frail and open boat for Coringa. I arrived at Coringa on August 15, 1803 and proceeded at once to Ianaoum [Yanaon] who lay at a distance of a few miles. I then set out from Coringa on a *parria* [sic] which was bound for Calcutta and on September 12 we anchored on the shore of the mouth of the Chilka Lake. I was proposing to land at day break at the village of Manikpatam and was about to embark in the boat when we perceived, to the south, a squadron which was approaching us under full sail. It was Admiral Rainier. . . . The vessels anchored a quarter of a league from us, and from that moment nothing would induce my lascars to put me on shore. A few days later we cast anchor at Jutgilly [? Hijli].

I took a boat to go up the Ganges to Calcutta where I arrived on the day that war against the Republic was proclaimed." The unfortunate defeat of Perron and the fall of Allighur were announced at the same moment. Muller saw his plans were frustrated : of what use was to try and reach the territory of Sindhia, since the French had in effect been expelled from India and the party of Perron with the remnant of de Boigne's brigades, had been destroyed. There was nothing for it but to throw his box of colours into a corner and allow himself to be arrested by the English as a French officer : and this became the more necessary as there was very little left of Binot's hundred louis. Our officer was interned at Calcutta for several years and sent back to France in 1807. During his four years' internment, Muller lived by painting portraits. There may be existing in England certain canvases by this unknown painter, representing red-coated officers, and in India, in certain palaces, there may be paintings signed by Muller of nababs, rajahs, and merchants of pearls. But while he was making his livelihood by his brush Muller was busy collecting material regarding the possibility of an invasion of India. Hence he was able to send to General Decaen, at the moment of his departure for France, a very complete Mémoire. The colonial archives at Paris contain another Mémoire on the same subject drawn up by him in 1807 and intended for Talleyrand. Muller who had suffered from the climate of India, was placed on the retired list and took up his residence at Landau.

E. C.

An old Seminary at Bhagalpur.

THE record room of the Bhagalpur Collectorate contains among its vast collection of old records a letter dated the 1st August, 1783 A.D. from the Superintendent of Boglipore an old form of spelling and pronouncing "Bhagalpur" as used in early official correspondense to John Shore, President of the Committee of Revenue, Fort William, referring to the history of an educational institution at Bhagalpur established some three hundred years ago. The official letter, in question, relates at length the origin and history of the seminary and of its founder and his successors, the names of the various Mughal Emperors who patronised it their grant of land and allowance, the amount of the grant thus made, the account of the monthly expenditure requisite for its running and so forth. Thus, the record mentioned above is a very valuable document relating to the system of education that prevailed at Bhagalpur prior to the advent of the Hon'ble East India Company, and it throws a new light upon a very old educational institution now almost in oblivion but once an important centre for imparting education to the people living at Bhagalpur.

It was so early as the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir that the Seminary at Bhagalpur was set up by Moulānā Shālo Bāz Muhammad, originally a native of Bihar, the Moulānā contracted a marriage alliance with a respectable family of Bhagalpur where he migrated and ultimately settled down. The Moulānā soon became noted for his piety, learning and knowledge and his attainments soon attracted a large following which numbered nearly 200. The recurring monthly expenses of his institution was met out of a fund established from the ungrudging bounty of the charitable and the ever-increasing generosity of the wealthy.

The Moulānā died during the early part of the reign of Shahjehan leaving behind him four sons of whom Moulānā Muhammad Salām succeeded his father. It was in 1063 H. that Shah Shuja, the second Prince, who had assumed regal titles in Bengal, favoured Salām with a grant of nearly 500 *bighas* of land from Pargana Colgong and subsequently with 19 *bighas* from pargana Bhagalpur with a view to the maintenance of the institution and erecting a suitable building for it. In addition to the grant thus made, suitable provisions were also made for the support of Salām's family. Thus, it is said that, the total number of scholars on the roll was nearly 150, each and all of whom were given not only free education, but were also provided with board, lodging and clothing without any charge whatsoever.

Salām was succeeded by his second brother Latif and the latter by Moulāna Muhammad Taghi, the third son of Moulāna Shāh Bāz. During Taghi's time, nearly 200 *bighas* of land carrying a monthly revenue of Rs. 16/- in Pargana Colgong was granted to the Seminary, the deed of gift being made under the seal of **Amir-ul-omrah,** probably the Mughal representative or the Military Fouzdar of Bhagalpur. Under Taghi, the number of students and attendants attached to the Seminary continued increasing, so that there was an addition of 50 to the already existing 150 in the roll.

Under Moulānā Muhammad Afsun, the nephew and successor of Taghi, the institution not only acquired a wide reputation, but it was also organised as a fraternity of learned and religious people. Fresh grants of land were made and the Emperor Aurangzeb carved out some portion from the parganas Bhagalpur and Colgong and bestowed them for the upkeep of that house of learning. But ultimately, for reasons not sufficiently known, the gratuities and bounties unluckily falling far short of the required amount, there was a set back to the further progress and future development of the Seminary with the result that, the number of students fell off and the total was thus reduced to 80, less than half the old number.

Muhammad Hafiz succeeded his father Afsun in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. The Emperor, like his predecessors, earned the gratitude of the public by his grant of a subsistence allowance of Rupees Four and annas nine and a donation of land to Hafiz in the parganas of Bhagalpur and Kherry. Still the Seminary showed no improvement and pursued its downward course, so that the number of students decreased from 80 to 60 only.

Hafiz was succeeded by his brother Moulānā Muhammad 'Aqil in Muhammad Shah's reign. It is somewhat pleasing to note that under Hafiz the number on the roll increased to nearly 150.

After 'Aqil came his brother Muhammad Abid. The latter was favoured with grants of land in the parganas of Chchye and Bhagalpur, from the Emperors Muhammad Shāh, 'Alamgir II and Shāh 'Alam between the years 1148-75 H. His allowance was also increased to Rupees Six and Annas Eight. But 'Aquil was not worthy enough to put a check to the rapid decline of the institution that had begun during Afsun's incumbency. The number of students showed a continuous and gradual falling off, till it figured only 30, a fraction of what it was in the past.

In the year 1783 A.D., when the despatch was written by the Superintendent of Bhagalpur, Moulānā Muhammad Mowahude was the chief of the institution. He received grants in the pargana of Bhagalpur in addition to the whole village of Afzulpur in pargana Colgong and Rupees Four and Annas Eight as personal allowance from Shāh 'Alam, the Emperor.

Even so late as the third decade of the nineteenth century we come across a reference to the family of Moulvis living at Bhugalpur in the

topographical and historical account of Martin, the accredited agent of the East India Company. In course of his tour through Eastern India, the itinerant happened to visit Bhagalpur where he heard of one Muhammad Faiz who was deeply versed in Arabic and respected and loved for his learning and scholarship. The family to which Faiz belonged and of which he was the patriarch could boast of no less than twenty members all of whom had taken to the teaching profession. They would charge no tuition fee from their students. Martin has given no geneological table of Faiz's family, but it would not be very wrong to suppose that, Faiz was related to Moulānā Shāh Bāz, the original founder of the Bhagalpur Seminary. The number of families living at Montachauk just on the southern side of the modern railway station of Bhagalpur claim their descent from Moulānā Shāh Bāz and also assert that the Seminary was situated in the locality they now live in.

We now revert to our Despatch of 1783 A.D. It furnishes us also with an account of the recurring expenditure incurred for the upkeep of the Seminary. We are told a sum of Rupes 187/- was monthly spent towards establishment. The teaching staff consisted of one Superintendent, known as *Mutawalli* and his five assistants. The Superintendent enjoyed a salary of Rs. 40/- per month, and the total monthly allowance of his five assistants amounted to Rs. 110/-. In addition to the total expenditure of Rs. 150/- as mentioned above, a sum of Rs. 37/-, thus making a total of Rs. 187/-, was spent towards establishment of servants, in the following order,

2 Clerks or accountants	Rs.	5/-
2 Cooks	,,	5/-
1 Waterman	,,	2/-
1 Barber	,,	2/-
1 Washerman	,,	3/-
1 Sweeper	,,	1/-
1 Mehtar	,,	1/-
1 Peon or Runner*	,,	18/-

An account of the boarding expenses of the scholars is given thus. It throws a side-light on the price of articles in those days.

	Rs.	As.	Gandas
Rice (15 mds.)	15	0	0
Dāl (3 mds. 30 seers)	5	0	0
Salt (37 seers)	5	5	17½
Oil (1 md. 35 seers)	10	0	15
Fuel	7	8	0
Condiment	5	0	0
Earthen pots, mats etc.	1	0	0
Paper and stationary	9	6	0

(1) The ms. reads Tayer. In Persian as Taiyār meaning running swiftly, and hence a runner.

The following amount was spent for the supply of garment to the scholars—

40 turbans	...	... price Rs.	80	0	0
,, Cloak	...	... ,, ,,	100	0	0
,, Chaddar	...	... ,, ,,	40	0	0
,, Trouser	...	... ,, ,,	20	0	0
,, Quilts	...	... ,, ,,	80	0	0
Cotton 20 seers		... ,, ,,	8	0	0
Shoes	...	... ,, ,,	10	0	0
Sheet*	...	... ,, ,,	2	8	0

K. K. BASU.

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(2) The ms. reads Nattaine. In Persian as nat'ā meaning a sheet, usually of ltather used for eating or gaming on.

Anglo-Indian Monumental Inscriptions in Kent & Sussex.

DURING a recent stay at Tunbridge Wells, I visited a number of churches and graveyards in Kent and Sussex, and transcribed the following monumental inscriptions bearing on families which served in India. The serial numbers appended are in continuation of former lists of M. I. which I have published in *Bengal: Past and Present.*

Old cemetery, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

1406. Harriet Batt, eldest daughter of Lt.-Col. J. B. BACKHOUSE, C.B., Bengal Artillery; born 5 January 1851, died 17 August 1893. Caroline Batt, 5th daughter of the same, died 10 July 1928, aged 75. (Several other Backhouse M.I.).

1407. Robert WILLIAMS, Bengal C.S., died Tunbridge Wells, 13 Sept. 1886, in his 90th year. Sarah, daughter of the late James Williams, Esq. formerly of Walthamstow, Essex, born 27 August 1793, died 10 Sept. 1880. Stone placed by only surviving brother.

1408. Hugh Vans HATHORN, Bengal C.S., died 23 Nov. 1882, aged 78.

1409. Frances WELLS, widow of Richard Wells, Bengal C.S., died 27 January 1878. Also her brother and sister, Cornwallis Richard CARTWRIGHT, of Sunbury House, Tunbridge Wells, died 18 February 1870; and Alicia Laura Cartwright his wife, died 7 January 1867.

1410. Rev. Edward Thos. CLARKE of Hurst-Wood Lodge, Tunbridge Wells, (formerly a captain in 37th Madras N.I.), born 24 Sept. 1802, died 2 (?) Aug. 1868 (?). Eliza Rebecca, widow of above and also widow of Capt. J. Elliott BINGHAM, R.N.; born 1 Sept. 1819, died 16 April 1901. (Capt. Bingham and another wife of his are buried in adjoining grave).

1411. Col. Sir Henry YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Member of the Council of India. Sometime Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Dept. Born at Inveresk, N.B., 1 May 1820, died in London 30 Dec. 1889. Mary Wilhelmina, daughter of Fulwar and Mary Philadelphia SKIPWITH, and wife of Col. Henry Yule, C.B., R.E., "whose life she blessed for four short years"; born at Chittagong, 6 Dec. 1840; married at Tunbridge Wells, 2 June 1877; died there, 26 April 1881.

Withyham Church, Sussex.

1412. (Mural tablet in Sackville chapel). Fanny Charlotte daughter of Major General William DICKSON, C.B., E.I.C.S., and wife of

Mortimer Sackville West, 4th son of George John 5th Earl de la Warr. Born 26 Dec. 1822, died 19 Dec. 1852.

Brenchley churchyard, Kent.

1413. Ann DAVIS of Henrietta Street, Cavendish square, and last surviving daughter of Joseph Davis H.E.I.C.S.; died 13 January 1879, aged 72.

Brenchley Church, Kent.

1414. (Mural tablet) Col. Patrick HAY, H.E.I.C.S., 4th son of Thomas Hay, Lord Huntingdon, of the Court of Session, Scotland, and uncle of Sir Thomas Hay who succeeded as 5th baronet of Alderstone. Distinguished both as a soldier and oriental scholar, he served as A.D.C. and Persian interpreter to Gen. Sir Eyre Coote during his memorable campaign in the Carnatic against Hyder Ali. He died at Eynsham Hall, Oxford, 1 April 1822, aged 73, and is buried in a vault within the church of that parish. Also, in memory of Sarah his wife, 4th daughter of Robert DASHWOOD of Vallow-wood, Stogumber in the county of Dorset, and sister of the Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Dashwood, K.C.B., K.T. & S. etc. She died 19 January 1850 and is buried in the vault beneath... Erected...by their grandson J. H. Hay Ruxton of Broad Oak.

Frant churchyard, Sussex.

1415. Major-Gen. Alexander BEATSON of Knowle in the county of Sussex and late Governor of the Island of St. Helena, died 15 Oct. 1830, aged 70. His 4th son, Stephen Reid, born 3 June 1817; died 7 Dec. 1817. His eldest son, Alexander David, born 10 January 1807 ; died Chatham, 7 January 1825. His youngest daughter, Letitia Allan, died 22 April 1893, aged 72. His 6th daughter, Georgiana Oakeley Malcolm, widow of Samuel Newington, of Ridgeway, Ticehurst ; died 7 May 1898, aged 79. His 4th daughter, Caroline Harriet Lysaght, widow of John Lysaght, died 13 Aug. 1899, aged 84. His son, Major-Gen. Albert Balcombe Beatson, died Bath, 2 January 1911, aged 87.

1416. (Mural tablet, Frant church). These choir stalls and the adjoining reredos were erected in the year 1922 by John Quiller ROWLETT of Ely Place, Frant, in memory of his father John Quiller Rowlett of Polperro, Cornwall, who died in Rangoon, Burma, on the 16 Sept. 1876; and of his brother Richard Percy Rowlett who died in Rangoon, Burma, on the 17 April 1898.

New cemetery, Hawkenbury, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

1417. Trevenen James HOLLAND, C.B., Lieut-Col. Bombay Army ; born 31 May 1834 ; died 21 Feb. 1910. Margaret Emma his wife ; born 31 March 1840 ; died 7 Dec. 1922.

1418. Jane MARSACK, widow of George Hartwell Marsack ; died 16 Feb. 1874, aged 76 ; and her daughter Mary SIMONDS, died 21 Sept. 1903, aged 74.

1419. William Howells RIX, died 24 May 1910, aged 73 ; and his wife Rosalie Jane Rix, youngest daughter of George Hartwell Marsack, died 11 April 1922, aged 85.

1420. Emily ERSKINE, widow of Wm. David Erskine, 7th Madras Light Cavalry ; born 23 June 1818 ; died 9 May 1897 ; also her daughter Keith Helen Erskine ; born 1 March 1836 ; died 21 April 1915.

1421. Olivia Elizabeth, widow of Wm. Gordon THOMSON, Esq. of Wadhurst, Sussex, who died at Tunbridge Wells, 10 March 1891, in her 76th year ; also her son George Cadogan Thomson, late Colonel 1st Bengal Cavalry ; died 20 Sept. 1896 in his 61st year. Also his wife Harriet Anne Adelaide, died 11 May 1927 in her 82nd year ; and their two sons Capt. Wm. Gordon Thomson, 1st Suffolk Regt., died at Pretoria, 9 June 1900, in his 35th year, and Major John Bustie Cook Thomson, 1st P.A. Somerset Light Infantry, died Aldershot 25 August 1913 in his 44th year.

1422. Elizabeth GALL widow of Major G. L. H. Gall, Commandant of the 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry during the siege of Lucknow ; died 23 May 1898 in her 67th year.

1423. Duncan STEWART, M.D., H.M. Bengal Medical Service, died Tunbridge Wells, 27 March 1875 ; and Margaret his wife, died at Bath 11 May 1895, aged 75. Major-Gen. James Calder Stewart, died 1 July 1930, aged 90.

1424. Major-General East APTHORP, C.B., died 3 March 1875, aged 69.

1425. Catherine Harriet BABINGTON, widow of S. Babington, Esq., Bombay C.S., judge of the Sudder Adaulat ; born 8 January 1793 ; died 11 March 1876.

1426. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Kirkman LOYD formerly of the Madras Artillery ; born 9 Oct. 1809 ; died Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells, 14 June 1879.

1427. Chas. Mackenzie HALL, Colonel late 5th Punjab Infantry, died 20 April 1896, aged 52 ; and his widow Maria Meyrick Hall, died 14 March 1920, aged 78.

1428. Wm. George HERBERT, Lieut.-Col. R.E. (Bombay Engineers) ; died 13 January 1885, aged 74 ; and his widow Barbara, died 20 May 1915, aged 96.

1429. Hester Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Col. HARRIS, died 3 January 1889, aged 72. Her sister, Clementina Anne, died 12 January 1906, aged 80 ; and her mother, Mary, widow of Lieut.-Col. Harris, Madras Army, died 30 March 1884, aged 84.

St. Mark's parish church, Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells.

1430. (Mural tablet) Major-General A. FITZHUGH, C.B., born 31 January 1837 ; died 22 February 1929 ; late H.M. 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles.

Speldhurst Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1431. Charles BECHER, Esq. late of Chancellor House in this parish,

formerly of the Bengal C.S.; died at Nice 16 July 1842, aged 60, where his remains are interred.

1432. John BECHER, late of Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells, died 28 March 1830. Erected by his brother Richard Becher.

1433. Charles Grant BECHER, son of Charles Becher, Esq., late of Chancellor House in this parish, lieut.-col. in the 8th Bengal Cavalry, who died on active service at Indore during the Indian Mutiny on 2 April 1859, aged 46. Erected by his eldest son Chas. Adrian Gough Becher, Captain 1st King's Dragon Guards. Also to Henrietta Macdonald widow of the above, died Brighton, 18 January 1890, aged 65.

1434. Three children of Coll. Christopher HODGSON and Elizabeth his wife : Henry Griffith, died Bombay 7 Aug. 1818, aged 18 months : Anthony John, ensign 4th Bombay N.I., died Mahableshwar, 20 February 1834, aged 19 years : Gertrude Marion, died Tunbridge Wells, 9 June 1835, aged 7 months.

1435. Christopher Chas. HODGSON, 4th and 2nd surviving son of Major-Gen. Christopher Hodgson ; died Karachi, 26 Nov. 1842, aged 21.

1436. Harriett Isabella, wife of Lieut. Septimus HODGSON, 2nd Regt. Madras Light Cavalry, died Jalna, 1 Nov. 1854, aged 21.

1437. Christopher HODGSON, Major-Gen. H.E.I.C.'s Bombay Artillery ; died Tunbridge Wells, 16 Apr. 1849, aged 65 ; and his wife Elizabeth, died at Hingham, Norfolk, 16 Aug. 1859, aged 67.

Speldhurst churchyard.

1438. William Andrew NESBITT, Esq., late of Bombay ; died 19 April 1807, aged 36, erected by his widow. Also his daughter Marianne, died 18 November 1806, aged 2 years 9 months.

1439. Charlotte, widow of the late Charles MARSACK, Esq. of Caversham Park, Oxon., died 26 February 1837, aged 69. Also John BECHER of Chancellor House, Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells, died 28 March 1830, aged 64. Also Henrietta Macdonald Becher, aged 65. (Date of death of last-mentioned not given ; but see No. 1433).

Church of St. John the Divine, Tunbridge Wells.

1440. (Mural tablets & window). David Thompson HATCHELL, Col. Indian Staff Corps ; born 2 April 1839 ; died 6 Nov. 1926. Eliza Emilie for over 44 years his wife ; born 30 April 1839 ; died 16 June 1906. Edward Evan Hatchell, trooper C. Squadron Paget's Horse (68th Imperial Yeomanry), killed S. Africa 24 Feb. 1902, aged 23.

St. Paul's churchyard, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells.

1441. Mary Anne FRENCH widow of Thomas Valpy French D.D., first Bishop of Lahore ; born 15 July 1826 ; died 18 Oct. 1912.

1442. Henry Travers OWEN, Esq. late H.E.I.C.'s Bengal C.S., died at Fairlight, Tunbridge Wells, 22 January 1872, aged 72.

1443. Frances, wife of H. G. KEENE, H. M.'s Bengal C.S.; born 20 Aug. 1827 ; married 10 February 1849 ; died 1 Sept. 1862.

1444. Ensign Stanhope Berehaven TAYLOR (whose remains lie beneath) 3rd son of Wm. Stanhope Taylor Esq., was killed at Jhansi, Central India, by the mutineers of his regiment the 12th Bengal N.I. on 5 June 1857, aged 20.

1445. Jessie Louisa, wife of F. ANDERSON, M.D., Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, H. M.'s Indian Army, & daughter of Rev. Chas. Garbett, A.M., died Tunbridge Wells, 19 Nov. 1865, aged 24.

Bidborough Church, near Tonbridge, Kent.

1446. Bradford HARDINGE, Bengal C.S., 4th son of General Hardinge, R.A.; died 31 July 1861, aged 38. Also his infant son, Harry Callander, aged one year, who survived his father only 4 days. Also his mother Caroline I. Hardinge, died 5 January 1874, aged 74. Also his wife Caroline Jane Christina, died 27 January 1926, aged 80.

1447. Louis Robert Baron de ROLL de Emmenholz in the Canton of Soleure, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Adjutant General to H. R. H. Monsieur Comte d'Artois, Major General, and Colonel of the Rolls Swiss Regiment in H.B.M.'s service. Died at Bounds, 27 Aug. 1813, aged 64.

Bidborough Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1448. Guy Lushington PRENDERGAST [Madras C.S.], author of a Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer & also to the poetical works of Milton, eldest surviving son of Guy Lenox Prendergast, formerly M.P. for Lymington, Hants.; born 3 Aug. 1806 ; died 5 Nov. 1887 ; buried All Souls' cemetery, Kensal Green. Also his wife Catherine Jane, daughter of Sir James Annesley [Madras Medical Establishment], born 31 July 1811 ; died Madras 10 Aug. 1839. Also his eldest son, Col. Reynolds Stephen James Prendergast, 2nd Madras Cavalry, died at sea 18 Aug. 1887, aged 56. Also Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of General Wm. Justice, Madras Army, 2nd wife of Guy Lushington Prendergast ; born 19 Oct. 1836 ; died 28 March 1899.

1449. Major Geo. Nicholas HARDINGE, Bengal Army, served in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns and throughout the defence of Lucknow from the effects of which memorable siege he died on his passage Home in March 1858, aged 29 .... Also his father Major-Gen. Richard Hardinge, K.H., R.A., served in three last Wellington campaigns .... died 20 July 1864, aged 74 ; and his wife Caroline Johnstone Hardinge, born 12 June 1799, died 5 January 1874. [G. N. Hardinge died at the Sandheads in the Hughli, 16 March 1858].

St. Peter's Church, Pembury, Kent.

1450. (Mural tablet) Matthew Charles DIXON, Major-General Royal Artillery, V.C., of Woodsgate in this parish ; died 7 January 1905, aged 84.

Old Church, Pembury, Kent.

1451. (Mural tablets) Charles Henry WOODGATE, Madras C.S., 3rd son of late Rev. Stephen Woodgate vicar of this parish, died at sea off Aden 30 Oct. 1856 ; also his eldest son by his wife Alicia Frances, Charles Shaw Campbell Woodgate, died at Palamcottah, after two days' illness, 20 Dec. 1855, aged 3 years and 3 months.

1452. Henry Hawley SHAW, died Calcutta 8 March 1897, aged 34 ; and Agneta Maude his wife, died 6 Oct. 1933, aged 71.

Lamberhurst Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1453. Frances Julia, daughter of Lieut.-General Sir Jasper NICHOLLS, K.C.B., sometime Commander-in-Chief in India, and wife of Rev. Robert Hawkins, M.A., vicar of this parish ; born 15 February 1820 ; died 9 April 1864, leaving 4 sons and 2 daughters.

1454. Ellen daughter of Henry ROUSE Esq. of the Hon'ble East India Company and widow of Cæsar Henry HAWKINS, died 10 January 1913, aged 85.

1455. Cæsar Henry HAWKINS, F.R.S., P.R.C.S., 3rd son of Rev. Edward Hawkins, M.A,. rector of Kelston, Somerset ; and grandson of Sir Cæsar Hawkins, Bart., serjeant-surgeon to George II & George III ; born 19 Sept. 1798 ; died 20 July 1884. Surgeon extraordinary and serjeant-surgeon to Queen Victoria. His wife Caroline, daughter of John Dolbel of the Colomberie, Island of Jersey, died 22 Dec. 1858, aged 50.

Sevenoaks parish church, Kent.

1456. (Mural tablet). Augustine ALLEN, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Staff Corps, 5th son of Wm. Houghton Allen Esq. of this parish ; died 1 Nov. aged 46.

H. BULLOCK.

The Editor's Note Book.

Owing to the illness of Sir Evan Cotton, Major H. Bullock, F.R. Hist. S., at present in England, is very kindly contributing to the Editorial and we offer him our best thanks for this assistance.

An old Calcutta House.

IN the article on the historic Calcutta firm of Steuart and Co. which we published at the close of 1933 (Vol. XLVI, p. 70) mention was made of a coloured print of "A House Manufactory and Bazar in Calcutta" which was engraved by F. Jukes "From the original picture in possession of James Steuart, Esq." By the courtesy of Messrs. T. H. Parker Ltd. of 28 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1, who have a copy of the print in their possession, we are able to reproduce a photograph of the engraving. The print is uncommon and the last occasion upon which we saw a copy was at the sale in Calcutta some ten years ago of the collection of the late Sir Charles Kesteven. The premises represented are at 8 Old Court House Corner, behind St. Andrew's Church, and were occupied by Steuart & Co. from 1788 to 1907, when the firm removed to 3 Mangoe Lane, where business was carried on until 1930, when the present house at the corner of Free School Street and Park Street was acquired.

An Undated Print.

NEITHER the date of the engraving nor the name of the painter of the "original picture" is given. But we know that James Steuart, one of the founders of the firm, came out to Calcutta in 1783 and returned to Europe in 1795. As for the artist, we know also from a letter written in 1792 by William Baillie to Ozias Humphry, that he was then employing Solvyns to "embellish" his palankeens. Solvyns sailed from Calcutta in the *Phoenix* in June 1803, and if the artist was Solvyns, as appears probable, the date can be put about 1795. It will be noticed that the products of Messrs. Steuart's industry are prominently displayed: the coach on the right of the print, the palankeen in the centre, and a more primitive conveyance in a recess on the extreme right.

Dyce Sombre's Diaries.

SOME diaries kept by Dyce Sombre are to be found among the exhibits in the case of Dyce Sombre versus Troup in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. These diaries were printed for the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in which judgment was delivered on 1 July 1856. They contain a number of references to the various painters with whom Dyce Sombre had transactions and should be read in connexion with the booklet on the Sardhana Pictures at Allahabad,

"A HOUSE MANUFACTORY AND BAZAR IN CALCUTTA".

which was recently reviewed in these pages by Sir Richard Burn. In July and August 1834 there is an account of a dispute between the artist Jiwan Ram and Mr. Trevor: the latter had made a bargain to exchange a pair of pistols for a picture of Jiwan Ram's. The quarrel appears to have been settled in the painter's favour. On 3 Sept., 1834, there is an entry: "Jewan Ram came to take Aga's picture today"—this was Aga Wanus, the Begam's Armenian minister, of whom mention is made in the article on the Legois family by Major H. Bullock which appears elsewhere in this issue under the title of "Some Soldiers of Fortune." Two days later the diarist records that Jiwan Ram took the likeness of "P—J— alias Mr. G. T.", who may perhaps be identified as General George Thomas's son and namesake. On 9 Sept. 1834 there is an entry: "Drever sat for his picture today." This was Thomas Drever, the Bengal Surgeon, who was for some years the Begam's medical attendant. Jiwan Ram provided other diversions for Dyce Sombre: gambling and nautches are mentioned. From another entry we gain an idea of his charges, for on 2 March, 1835, we read: "Won 450 Rs. or the price of a large and small picture by Jeweum (sic) Ram, from Troup, by playing whist." In a future number we hope to revert to these diaries, which contain other mentions of artists and pictures at Sardhana.

A Grand-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

A PORTRAIT hangs in the Church Room of the Mission Church which bears the following inscription on the back of the canvas: "The Rev. T. Dealtry D D. Archdeacon of Calcutta: painted by J. Reynolds Gwatkin: Calcutta 1837". Dealtry was archdeacon from 1835 to 1848, and Bishop of Madras, where he died in 1861, from 1850 to 1861. The picture possesses little artistic merit, but who was the painter? We find our first clue in one of Emily Eden's "Letters Up the Country", written from Simla in September 1840. She mentions meeting a "regular artist" Mr. Gwatkin whose Christian names are those of his great-uncle Sir Joshua Reynolds; and she tells us that Henry Torrens sold three of his oil-paintings. Miss Eden is not quite correct about his Christian names. John Reynolds Gwatkin was the eldest son of Major-General Edward Gwatkin (1784-1855) of the Bengal Army, who died on board the *Hotspur* in April 1855 when off the English coast. Dyce Sombre met J. R. Gwatkin at Calcutta in February 1837 and records in his Diary: "Saw Gwatkin's son the painter at the Cameronians' Mess this evening and immediately knew him, although I had never seen him before." Richard Lovell Gwatkin, the father of General Gwatkin, was a Cornish squire, who married Sir Joshua's favourite niece "Offie" (Theophila Palmer), the original of the "Strawberry Girl" in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House. He acted as chief mourner at Sir Joshua's funeral. "Offie's" elder sister married the Marquis of Thomond who plays a prominent part in the Farington Diary: their father John Palmer who married Sir Joshua's sister was an attorney at Torrington in Devon. John Reynolds Gwatkin married the eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. William Browne Salmon of the Bengal Army and had a son,

Joshua Reynolds Gascoigne Gwatkin. The family possesses portraits by Sir Joshua of "Offie" and her husband Richard Lovell Gwatkin.

The Johnson Family.

ANOTHER sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds married William Johnson, a woollen draper and three times Mayor of Torrington but for all that not a very reputable person, for he became bankrupt and deserted his wife and their seven children in 1775. Of these seven children William, Richard and Jane found their way to Calcutta. Jane was married in England before her fifteenth birthday to Philip Yonge who was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on June 25, 1782, and served the office of Sheriff in 1785. It was through Yonge that William Hickey sent home a set of Daniell's twelve views of Calcutta as a present for his brother in the year 1788. Jane Yonge had already died on June 15, 1782. William became an important personage in Calcutta. He sailed for Bengal in 1774 "under the protection of Sir Robert Chambers" who procured for him the office of Clerk of the Crown. He married in 1788 the daughter of Colonel William Tolly, the excavator of Tolly's Nullah, and was "suddenly carried off by a violent fever on May 4, 1799, at the age of 43." The second brother, Richard, went out in 1778 and became an indigo planter and died unmarried. He must not be confused with Richard Johnson the Bengal writer of 1770 who owned considerable house property in Calcutta and became Resident at Lucknow and Hyderabad. After his return to England in 1789 he became a banker and M.P. and mismanaged the money affairs of his firm and of Warren Hastings, and ultimately died at Brighton on August 15, 1807. His collection of Indian paintings was bought by the East India Company and is now at the India Office. A number have been framed and hung in the private room of the Secretary of State.

The Days of Patronage.

WHEN Samuel Johnson, one of the brothers of William Johnson, was acting as an usher at Mr. Hobden's Academy for Young Gentlemen at Hounslow, he wrote to his sister Elizabeth at Torrington on August 8, 1775: "In the house where I now am, I hear a good deal about Bengal. Here is a young Gentleman about 19, that has a Father and Mother but a few miles from Calcutta. His Father is a Factor, which every one looks on as a very prodigious thing ; Writers are made Factors when they have been five years in the Service. He goes to his Father next Christmas. Here are also two more who go to Bengal at the same time. One of them is an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Chambers. Mr. Chambers, he says, would have taken him with him if he had not been engaged to as many as he could take." The names are revealed in a letter written to Richard Johnson on September 20: "Robarts goes as Midshipman to China ; His Family is very intimate with Mr. Chambers to whom he carries Parcels and Letters, which he forwards to Calcutta from Madrass. He goes at the beginning of next month. Wilkinson and Van der Heyden go soon after, one to Calcutta, the other to

Balasore, which is very near, so that they will both see Billy [William Johnson] if they live. By one of these I shall send a letter."

These were the days of patronage; and it cannot be denied that Chambers looked exceedingly well after his friends and relations. William Smoult came out, like William Johnson, on the *Anson*, and Chambers obtained the office of Sealer for him. The Judges seem to have liked this, for they informed the Governor General in Council on November 20, 1774, that "we have brought with us from England a number of persons of character and education whom we have appointed clerks and ministerial officers of the Court."

Job Charnock and his Father.

TO the late Sir Richard Temple is due the credit of discovering the Will of Job Charnock's father, "Richard Charnocke" of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, London, which is dated April 2, 1663, and which was proved on June 2, 1665. By it he bequeathed £600 to his son Job and "The Bell" a tenement in Market Street, Bedford, to another son, Stephen. By his own Will which is dated January 9, 1693, and was proved on June 12, 1695, Job Charnock provides for a legacy to the poor of "Cree Church London."

"Eyre's Battery."

AS recorded in an interesting article in the *Sunday Statesman* of January 27 last, a curious mistake made by the War Office five years ago has just been rectified by the grant to the 18th Heavy Battery, Royal Artillery, one of the old Bengal Artillery units, of the sub-title "Eyre's." In 1929 this title was granted in error to the 19th Heavy Battery, which had no claim whatever to it and had no connexion with Sir Vincent Eyre, the distinguished Bengal artilleryman whose name is thus commemorated. Eyre's battery—No. 3 field battery, manned by No. 1 Company of the 5th Battalion of the Bengal Artillery—much distinguished itself in August 1857 in the relief of the "House of Arrah", and its achievement is now perpetuated.

Hickey's partner Turner.

BENJAMIN TURNER, with whom William Hickey entered into partnership in 1789 (? 1787), as we learn from vol. iii. p. 344 of his Memoirs, had not at that time been admitted as an attorney. He had hitherto been managing clerk to George Wroughton the Company's attorney. Hickey says (iv. 372) that Turner had built himself a house in the town of Doncaster (1809); and elsewhere (iv. 311) he mentions that in 1805 he wound up his affairs as he was returning with his numerous family to Europe. But it is evident that he found his way back to Calcutta. When he died in Calcutta on July 14, 1819, he was, as the inscription on his grave in the South Park Street cemetery testifies, "the oldest British resident in Calcutta." He acted as under-sheriff to E. C. Macnaghten in 1817. His

son and partner, Benjamin Turner, junior, married at Calcutta on February 28, 1820, Mary, daughter of W. N. W. Hewett, a retired Bengal civilian, of Weston Green, Surrey ; and died on April 12, 1821, at the age of twenty-five. Another son, George Wroughton Turner, who was born in Calcutta on May 14, 1801, died there on May 24, 1807 ; so that Turner must have postponed his departure until then, and Hickey says (iv. 341) that when the partnership was dissolved, Gour Dey, their joint banian, left him to follow Turner : the date of this passage seems to be 1806.

Another Company's Attorney

WILLIAM JACKSON, who died in Calcutta on August 24, 1807, at the age of 58, was Company's attorney for many years : he was also registrar from February 7, 1777, until his death. He married Margaret Stewart on November 7, 1776. Three of his sons were in the Bengal Army : Capt.-Lieut. William Hill Jackson (1785-1813), who died at Cawnpore "of a violent fever" ; Lieut. Thomas Charles Jackson (1786-1815), killed in Macassar during an attack on a fortified village ; and Major James Nesbitt Jackson, C. B. (1788-1832), D. Q. M. G. Bengal, who died in Calcutta.

The deaths of two other attorneys named William Jackson are recorded in the "Bengal Obituary" (pp. 123, 174). Possibly the one who died on Nov. 15, 1838, aged 36 years, was a grandson of the Company's attorney.

Mr. Seton of Touch.

AMONG a number of sketches by James Wales, which belonged to the late Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C. S. I., is one of "Mr. Seton in Moorman's Dress", whose long beard gives him an uncanny resemblance to the portrait by Thomas Hickey of the Abbe Dubois which hangs in the rooms of the Madras Literary Society. There can be little doubt that it represents Archibald Seton of Touch in Stirlingshire, hereditary standard-bearer to the Kings of Scotland and Resident at Delhi from 1806 to 1811. Of this Mr. Seton we obtain some strange glimpses in the "Reminiscences of Delhi Twenty-five Years Ago" by "Captain Diddler Wayward of the Hon'ble Company's Pension Establishment" which were published in the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* in July 1834. ("Diddler Wayward" was a pseudonym, and the writer is identified with some probability by Major V. C. P. Hodson as Captain John Henry Warner (1783-1861), who was pensioned in India on Sept. 1, 1815, and died at Rajshahi on 27 July 1861, aged 77. His former regiment, the 1/6th Bengal N. I., was at Delhi in 1808/9, and Warner then had nine years' service). Seton, we are told,

> "in his nominal office of Minister, served the shadowy King of Delhi with all the apparent devotion of a real courtier. He stood shoeless and bootless with joined hands in the royal presence ; and when His Majesty went to the Grand Mosque, the Cootub, or to fly hawks at partridges, the Resident mounted behind him in the seat called

> Kawas, flourished the chowry over and around the imperial head of Akbar the Second, not for idle show merely but too veritably to whisk away flies. He used to get out of his palankeen if one of the family passed him on the road, and what he did he expected others to do. Some of Seton's orders about paying respect to the King and Princes made him very unpopular among the young officers. He once intimated his wishes, but not authoritatively, to the commandant that all European gentlemen should on meeting the King dismount from their horses and stand till he passed. Nothing can exceed the shouts of derision with which the proposal was treated, but not to incur his resentment, I believe most people afterwards scampered off the road when they saw the royal processions approaching."

Seton was a Bengal writer of the year 1778, and was Resident at Delhi from 1806 to 1811, succeeding Ochterlony and followed by Metcalfe.

The Princess and the Page's Son.

MENTION is made by William Hickey, in the first volume of his Memoirs (p. 283) of "Mr. Henry Ramus, an old acquaintance of mine" who "went out as a Writer [to Bengal] the same season" as Robert Pott [1772-1773] ; and he adds that "his eldest brother George and I were contemporaries at Westminster and great cronies". George and Henry Ramus were brothers of Benedetta Ramus, a reigning beauty, who married Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal ; and their father, Nicholas Ramus, was head page to the King. Henry married as his second wife, on November 6, 1779, Johanna Vernet, the daughter of George Louis Vernet, the Dutch Governor of Chinsurah, whose hatchment is preserved in the Old Church at that place. George Ramus married no less a person than "the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III," if we are to accept an entry in vol. V of Howard and Crisp's "Visitation of England and Wales" (1879), to which Major Hodson has drawn attention. Their grand-daughter Marian Martha Money, whose parents were James Money of the Bengal Civil Service and Eliza Louisa Ramus, was married at Murshidabad in 1828 to George Wynyard Battye (1805-1888), B.C.S., who subsequently took the additional surname of Cumming ; and by this marriage was the mother of the famous Quintin Henry Battye of the Guides and of his sister the wife of Colonel G.B. Malleson.

A Forgotten Tragedy.

LOUISA RAMUS, one of the daughters of Henry Ramus, married George Ravenscroft, who was Collector of Cawnpore from 1813 to 1816 and again from 1818 to 1820. He fled into Oudh when it was discovered that large sums of money were missing from the Treasury, and took refuge with the Raja of Bhinga, who gave him land to cultivate and a house. When he began to plant indigo, the Raja's eldest son became alarmed and hired some dacoits to kill him. He was wounded and died the next day, May 7, 1823. Platt, an ensign, who was

staying with him, managed to save Mrs. Ravenscroft and a child, and brought them into Lucknow. A monument to Ravenscroft was erected by the Raja of Bhinga and may be seen at Bhabarpur in the Bahraich district.

A Woman Artist in India

THE fame of Chinnery and Daniell and Hodges has obscured the name of Miss Katharine Read, who came to India in 1775, at the age of fifty-two, with her niece Helena Beatson, to stay with her brother William Read of the Company's Civil Service at Madras. In the course of an article on "Anglo-Indian Miniaturists," which appeared in the *Asiatic Review* for 1892, Mr. A. Francis Steuart has something to say about her ; but he gives no authority for his statements, and in certain particulars they appear to be inaccurate. He describes her as "the Court paintress of the late Queen Caroline," the wife of George the Second, and antedates her arrival in India by five years, adding that "she sent home a portrait of 'The Indian Lady' to her relations in Scotland." Her residence in India did not extend beyond a year. Owing to a breakdown in health she was obliged to take a voyage to the Cape and she died at sea on December 15, 1778. Helena Beatson, her niece, married in October 1777 Charles Oakeley, a Madras writer of 1767 who was created a baronet in 1790 and was Governor of Fort St. George from 1790 to 1792 and again (upon the retirement of General Medows) from 1792 to 1794. She died in 1839. Mr. Dodwell in his *Nabobs of Madras* quotes from one of the letters of David Young, a contemporary retailer of local gossip, a passage in which he says that Miss Read "has been very ill-treated by Miss Beatson since her marriage and the old lady has taken it so much to heart that it has been in a great measure the cause of her complaint." According to Mr. Steuart, Miss Read painted originally in oil, but afterwards her chief medium was pastel. "Her paintings are fine and her portraits, somewhat in the manner of Reynolds, pleasing." None of those painted in India seem to have survived.

John and William Paxton

MR. STEUART also quotes, apparently from a letter, a reference by Miss Read to two fellow-artists in 1777, both in Calcutta, one Kettle, "a tolerable painter," and Paston, "an indifferent hand." It is a pity that he is not more precise. Tilly Kettle had already left Calcutta in the *Talbot* (Captain Raymond Snow) on April 8, 1776, and arrived in the Downs on November 4. By "Paston" Mr. Steuart must mean John Paxton, who died at Bombay in 1780. He was one of the original members of the Incorporated Society of Artists and signed their declaration roll in 1776. We have no record of his ever having been in Calcutta ; but we believe that Mr. Dodwell has discovered that he received permission to reside in Madras. We get a glimpse of him in the Farington Diary in an entry of October 8, 1806 : "Sir William Paxton, now member for Carmarthenshire, made a fortune in the East Indies. He is brother to Mr. Paxton, Wine Merchant of Buckingham Street York

Buildings etc., and of the late Mr. Paxton, Portrait Painter, who died in India." William Paxton, who had been in the Company's service in Bengal, was also a member of the Calcutta firm known in 1785 by the name of Paxton, Cockerell and Delisle and later on as Cockerell Trail Palmer & Co. At the time Farington made his entry, he was "partner with Cockerell etc., at a Banking House in Pall Mall."

The "Thomas Coutts" East Indiaman.

AN interesting account of the famous banking house of Coutts & Co. has been written by Mr. Ralph M. Robinson and published by John Murray. On page 51 a reference will be found to the connexion of Thomas Coutts, the founder of the firm, with the East India Company. His partner Edward Marjoribanks was a brother of Campbell Marjoribanks, who exchanged the command of an Indiaman for a seat at the Board of Directors, which he filled for 33 years (1807-1840), serving as Deputy Chairman in 1818, 1824 and 1832, and as Chairman in 1819, 1825 and 1833. Coutts himself had £1,000 worth of Stock and took a sixteenth share in many of the Company's ships, paying his share of the expenses and receiving his proportion of the profits of the voyage. In 1816 a full-rigged ship of 1365 tons register was built at Deptford and named the *Thomas Coutts.* The ownership was divided into 64 shares of which Campbell Marjoribanks held 24, Coutts 4, and his partners eight between them. The ship made eight voyages to the East between 1817 and 1833, six of them under the same captain Alexander Chrystie, and all but one were to China. In 1826-27 a record passage of eleven months was made out and home, and the event was commemorated by the publication of a print of which a copy hangs in the Bank premises. W. J. Huggins' picture of the ship at anchor in Singapore was purchased in 1915 for the Victoria Memorial Hall. Her figurehead was the Coutts crest, heraldically described as "a demi-Moor shooting an arrow from a bow all proper." Although Coutts was never a Director and was unable to see any advantage in England's connexion with India, he enjoyed exercising patronage and obtained writerships and cadetships for many of his protégés.

The Ambassador's House.

DR. FIRMINGER, in an article in the *Statesman* of June 22, 1917, recalled the interesting associations of a bygone Calcutta house. To the west of the old Play House and fronting Lal Bazar stood in the year 1784 the Old Collector's Cutchery (in 1753 there had been a cutchery on the opposite side of the road). In evidence before the Select Committee in 1782 it had been described as "an old ruin of a house, formerly the residence of" an Indian, and then the gaol. This was the building which in 1712 had been utilised by the Council for the reception of the Persian Ambassador who was on his way to the Mogul Court. The Council wished him to represent their grievances as well as the affairs of his own country, and therefore were at some pains to make his stay

in Calcutta pleasant. Governor Russell went out to Govindpur to meet him, and he stayed eight months in Calcutta at the Company's expense. When he left in April, 1713, he asked to be provided with "one piece of black cloth, 15 yards of fine lace, three fine hats, one black and the other two white, and a black periwig", and in return for these promised to do his best for the English at the Court of the Mogul. The house in which he had resided became known as the "Ambassador's House," and Dr. C. R. Wilson, in his "Old Fort William", says that it stood at the corner of Lal Bazar and Mission Row," which Mr. S. C. Hill elaborated and corrected by placing it on the south side of Lal Bazar just before the Bentinck Street crossing. Following on the Royal Charter of 1727 bestowing a court of a mayor and aldermen on Calcutta, the Council resolved:—

> "there being wanting a proper place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Gaol: Agreed that the Ambassador's House and Compound be appropriated for the service, and that a tax be levied on the inhabitant of this place to pay the same."

In their general letter of February 2, 1729, to the Court, the Council described the Ambassador's House as the Company's House, and stated that it stood on the Company's books at a value of Rs. 6,480. There were objections to the tax to raise the purchase money of the house and no assessment appears to have been made. In 1732 the Council reported that they "have sold the House commonly called the Embassadour's for 3,560 rupees, reserving out of it a large piece of ground with brick buildings for a Town Goal."

Holwell's Monument.

THERE are indications that even now persons are to be found who advance the theory that the Black Hole tragedy never occurred. We had thought that Lord Curzon's masterly paper which appeared in this journal in 1917 (vol. XV pp. 11-24). had disposed of this curious contention once and for all. Since this was written, too, fresh evidence is forthcoming from Willian Hickey's sketches of Calcutta streets in 1789, which show that Holwell's monument existed in his day and that it bore an inscription. Is it credible that for years this monument should have been allowed to stand in public commemoration of an event which never took place? The theory that the tragedy was a concoction of Holwell's and of others his "accomplices" requires us to believe (i) that all the accounts of the monument given by travellers were false, (ii) that three maps of Calcutta marked a monument that did not exist, (iii) that the Daniells prominently figured that monument in two published prints, in furtherance of the common object of the "conspirators," and (iv) that when the editor of a Calcutta paper referred to the just completed removal of the monument, no reader wrote to point out that the monument had never existed, but on the other hand one instead protested against its

removal. We recommend re-reading of Lord Curzon's article to those who do not have it fresh in their memory.

THE monument was certainly standing in 1801. We quote the following entry from the East India Chronologist which was published in that year:

Positive Evidence.

1756 June the 20th. Seventy one days after the death of his grandfather, Surajah Dowla captured Calcutta and confined in the Black Hole 146 of the English Company's servants: 123 were found dead the following morning: among the survivers was Mr. Holwell who erected the monument now (1801) standing in front of the old Fort in commemoration of the melancholy fate of his more unhappy fellow sufferers.

A PRESS cutting from an Indian paper of 1917, which we are unfortunately unable to identify further though it was probably the *Statesman* or *Englishman*, records the death at Satara on June 12 in that year of a Mrs. M. T. O'Kearney at the age of eighty-five. It goes on to relate that she was by birth an Afghan and a cousin of the Amir Dost Mohamed, and had married according to Muslim rites in 1849 at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, Major Maughan of the Bombay Army. When the British forces withdrew she was left with her own people. Her husband then became military secretary to Charles Napier at Karachi, and she "left her home accompanied only by a muleteer and a boy slave. She crossed the Salt Range and by unfrequented tracks reached the Indus near Multan and then after a long and arduous journey down that river rejoined her husband at Karachi. They were then married again according to the rites of the Church of England." During the Mutiny she is said to have been with her husband at Kolhapur where he was Political Agent. After 11years of married life, when she was about 27 years of age, Major Maughan died and she married again. Her story presents some resemblances to that of Ensign Warburton and others who took to themselves Afghan ladies as wives during the First Afghan War ten years previously.

An Afghan Refugee.

IT used to be said in Calcutta that "every other man you meet has married, and every other woman has been, a Miss Pattle." James Pattle, B.C.S., married Adeline de l'Etang at Murshidabad on February 18, 1811. They had seven beautiful daughters; Adeline, who married Colonel Colin Mackenzie (1806-1881), known as the "Moolah" from his religious disposition; Julia Margaret, who married in 1838 Charles Hay Cameron (1795-1880), Macaulay's sucessor as Law Member of Council; Maria (Mia) who married in 1837 John Jackson of the Bengal Medical Service; Sara, who married H. T. Prinsep, B.C.S.; Sophie, who married J. W. Dalrymple, B.C.S.; Louisa, who

The Seven Beautiful Misses Pattle.

married H. V. Bayley, B.C.S., Judge of the High Court from 1862 to 1873 ; and Virginia, who married Earl Somers and died as recently as 1910 at the age of 84. For an account of the Chevalier de l'Etang, their remarkable grandfather, see *Bengal: Past & Present*, vol. xxix, p. 231 ; vol. xxxiv, p. 136.

Hickey's Sketches of Calcutta.

MISS EVELYN OULESS and her sisters, who are the owners of the sketches of Calcutta streets and houses by William Hickey which are described elsewhere in this number by Mr. Ottewill, have been good enough to permit them to be photographed for exhibition at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The gift will be much appreciated. The value of these sketches of Calcutta in 1789 is great from a topographical point of view, as each sketch is accompanied by detailed notes in the writing of Hickey. Both sketches and notes will be photographed.

Calcutta Residents in 1789.

FROM these sketches several discoveries can be made. The location of Grand's "red house in town" is at last satisfactorily determined. It was in Old Court House Street. The houses in Chowringhee which are seen in Daniell's view of that thoroughfare are seen to have been occupied by Colonel Murray and Colonel John Mordaunt who is immortalised in Zoffany's "Cock Match." Hickey himself lived at one time in close to the house overlooking St. John's Churchyard which was for many years occupied by the *Englishman* newspaper.

Calcutta Statues.

ONE of the most dignified of Calcutta's statues is the fine bronze equestrian effigy of Lord Mayo which stands at the junction of the road across the Maidan with the long avenue leading from Corporation Street to Kidderpore ; but few are able to give off-hand the name of the sculptor. It is the work of Thomas Thorneycroft and was unveiled on December 31, 1875, by King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. An account of the ceremony will be found in the *Friend of India* for January 7, 1876. A later and less successful memorial is the statue of Lord Ripon by F. Derwent Wood, A.R.A., which is placed on the Red Road. It was unveiled in 1915.

A Generous Donor.

WE are glad to be able to announce that as the result of a generous donation from a distinguished member of the Society, it has become possible to arrange for the issue of a third volume of the Index to *Bengal: Past & Present*, covering volumes XIX to XXVIII.

Our Fiftieth Volume and Hundredth Number.

TWO outstanding events in the history of the Calcutta Historical Society will take place this year. With the July-September number of *Bengal: Past & Present* we shall begin our fiftieth volume, and the October-December issue will be our hundredth number.

Calcutta Historical Society.

REPORT FOR 1934

The Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society which completed the 27th year of its existence was held on Thursday the 25th April, 1935, in the Society's Office at 3, Government Place, West. Mr. Harry Hobbs, one of the oldest members of the Society, presided.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Honorary Secretary of the Society, read the report for the year 1934 which runs as follows :—

It is pleasing to note that the Calcutta Historical Society has now stepped into the 28th year of its existence. The Committee of the Society are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., for his untiring zeal and warm devotion to the Society and its journal. Ever since his retirement from India in 1925 Sir Evan Cotton has all along been helping the Society's journal *Bengal Past & Present* with regular and interesting contributions without which it would have been extremely difficult for us to maintain the high standard of this journal. I have, however, to announce with great regret that, that eminent research scholar and historian who has been the backbone of this Society has been ill since last Christmas. On the 20th of December last he had a slight stroke of paralysis and thus temporarily lost the use of his left arm which is gradually regaining its natural strength. The progress is very slow and it is certain that for some months to come it will not be possible for him to resume his usual activities or contribute to *Bengal : Past & Present,* more specially his Editorial notes which enrich each issue of the journal.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 143 against 145 of the previous year. Although there are three additions in the list of members the decrease in the total is due to the resignation of some of the ordinary members and the death of the two gentlemen named below.

We deeply regret to announce the death of two of our valued members during the year under review, Sir Charu Chandra Ghose, Kt., and Kumar Monmotha Nath Mitter Bahadur. Sir Charu Chunder Ghose the eldest son of the late Rai Bahadur Debendra Chunder Ghose was born in 1874. After completing his school career in the South Suburban School, Bhowanipore, he received his higher education in the Presidency College, Calcutta, from where he graduated in 1898. He was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta, after completing his articleship under the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, and his extraordinary talents did not take him long to build up a vast practice. He passed with great distinction his Bar final from Lincoln's Inn and obtained a special prize of £50. He joined the Calcutta High Court in 1907

as an advocate. In July 1919 on the retirement of Mr. Justice Chitty, Sir Charu Chandra was elevated to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and he officiated as Chief Justice of Bengal on four occasions. In recognition of his services the distinction of Knighthood was conferred on him in 1926. He was twice elected President of the Aiatic Society of Bengal and was connected with several educational, charitable and philanthropic institutions of Bengal. Just after his retirement from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court in 1934 he was appointed a member of the Bengal Executive Council in place of Sir Provash Mitter. He was one of the oldest members of the Calcutta Historical Society where his brother Mr. D. C. Ghose, the President of the Improvement Trust Tribunal, is now the Honary Treasurer. His demise is not only a great loss to Calcutta but more so to the Calcutta Historical Society.

Kumar Monmotha Nath Mitter Bahadur who was the grandson of Raja Digambar Mitter of Shampukur died on Sunday, the 16th September, 1934, at his Shampukur residence at the age of 67. In addition to his many public activities he was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1924 and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1929. He was also one of the oldest and most enthusiastic members of the Calcutta Historical Society. His death is a great loss to us.

FINANCE.

The credit balance at the Bank up to the 31st December 1934, as will appear from the Financial Statement drawn up and submitted by Messrs Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, amounts to Rs. 2,536-4-9 out of which Rs. 169-6-2 is in the current account, Rs. 1,200/- Fixed Deposit (General Fund), and Rs. 1,166-14-7. in the Index Fund. The Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1,200/- has been renewed for a further period of twelve months. It is pleasing to announce here that Mon. Hori Har Sett, Chevalier de la Legion de Honneur, French Chandernagore, was kind enough to make a donation of Rs. 1,000/- towards the Index Fund of the Society. The Committee gratefully acknowledge his generous contribution.

The Committee are thankful to the gentlemen who have helped the journal with their valuable literary contributions. Among these mention may be made of Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Major H. Bullock, F.R. Hist. S., Mr. Alexander Cassells, I.C.S. (retd.), Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S. (retd.), Sir Richard Burn, Major V. C. P. Hodson, Mr. R. Sethi, M.A., F.R.H.S., Mr. D. N. Bannerjee, M.A., Mr. K. K. Dutt, M.A., P.R.S., Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterjee, M.A., PH.D., Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Mr. J. G. Brooker, Mr. D. C. Bhattacharjee, M.A., Mr. J. M. Dutt, M.Sc., B.L., and Mr. B. K. Bose.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI

25th, April 1935.
Calcutta.

Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia proposed the adoption of the Annual Report.

Mr. A. S. M. Latifur-Rahman seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

Mr. D. C. Ghose, the Honorary Treasurer, read the audited Financial Statement of Receipts and Payments of the "General" and "Index" Funds for the year 1934.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali proposed the adoption of the Financial Statement, and Mr. R. Maulik seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali seconded by Mr. C. W. Gurner all the Office Bearers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected for the year 1935, and Major H. Bullock F. R. Hist. S., Mr. H. Hobbs and Mr. J. G. Brooker were elected as members of the Council and Executive Coommittee.

On the proposal of Mr. H. Hobbs it was resolved that in order to give an impetus to general historical study arrangements may be made to hold occasional short lectures on interesting historical subjects which should be broadcast for the benefit of the educated classes. It was further resolved that the members of the Calcutta Historical Society should revive their old practice of holding occasional short trips and excursions to places of antiquarian interest.

At the close of the meeting Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia read a short but interesting paper on the "Royal Silver Jubilee" and on its historical aspect.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Office-Bearers, the meeting terminated at 8 p.m.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

General Fund.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1934.

Receipts.

Particulars						
Balance at 1st January 1934.						
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.						
On Current Account	457	2	11			
,, Fixed Deposit .	1,200	0	0	1,657	2	11
Subscriptions realised				124	14	0
Arrears	280	0	0			
Current year . . .	1,138	0	0			
Advance for 1935 . .	20	0	0	1,438	0	0
Sale of Society's Journal						
Reproduction Fee Received from Secretary, India Monthly				5	0	0
Interest on Fixed Deposit				29	0	0
Rs.				3,254	0	11

Payments.

Particulars						
Printing including Blocks and Reprints . . .				1,680	8	3
Postage and Stationery .				192	4	6
Bank Charges				11	14	0
Balance at 31st December 1934.						
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.						
On Current Account	169	6	2			
,, Fixed Deposit .	1,200	0	0	1,369	6	2
Rs.				3,254	0	11

Calcutta,
29th January 1935.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Index Fund.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1934.

Receipts.

Particulars			
Balance at 1st January 1934			
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.			
On Current Account	171	15	7
Donation Received from M. Hori Har Sett	1,000	0	0
Rs.	1 171	15	7

Payments.

Particulars			
Bank Charges	5	1	0
Balance at 1st December 1934.			
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.			
On Current Account	1,166	14	7
Rs.	1,171	15	7

Calcutta,
29th January 1935.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.